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Suburbanization as a Field for Sociological Research*

By Nathan L. Whetten†

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the concentration of the population of the United States into large metropolitan aggregates and the increasing tendency for people to commute to work in the cities while making their homes in the smaller towns and rural areas. Reasons for the growth of the metropolitan areas are discussed as well as the factors involved in the rapid expansion of population into suburban areas. Suburbanization is identified as an important field for sociological research. Among the many problems needing further study are: (1) identification and classification of suburban populations into meaningful groupings; (2) the extent and selectivity of suburban migration; (3) the impact of suburban living on personality; (4) the acquiring of social status in relation to the suburban movement; (5) studies of social conflict in suburban areas; (6) effects of suburbanization on the political structure; and (7) the extent to which suburbanites are realizing their aspirations in the suburban area.

One of the most important internal population shifts in history has been taking place gradually over a period of years in the United States. I refer to the clustering of people in and around the periphery of our larger cities. According to the United States Census of 1950, considerably more than half of our total population (56 per cent) is now living in what are defined as the 168 standard metropolitan areas. These include the major cities together with the outlying districts which are deemed to be closely integrated with and dependent upon them. The total number of inhabitants living in these metropolitan areas now reaches 84 millions as compared with only 66 millions in the rest of the entire nation.¹

* Presidential address delivered before the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, March 31, 1951.

† The University of Connecticut.

¹ Calculations from "Population of Standard Metropolitan Areas: April 1, 1950," U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census

Not only are the majority of our people concentrated in the metropolitan areas, but the population of these areas is increasing at a much more rapid rate than the rest of the country. During the past ten years, for example, the population of the metropolitan areas increased 21 per cent as compared with an increase of only 5.7 per cent in the rest of the country outside of the metropolitan areas. Stated in another way it may be said that 80 per cent of the population growth in the U.S.A. during the past ten years occurred in the metropolitan areas. This is particularly interesting when we realize that the metropolitan areas are the ones with the lower birth rates and that the greatest natural increases in population are found in the more isolated rural districts. This can only mean a tremendous shifting of peoples in toward the metropolitan centers.

There are many factors which have
of Population, Preliminary Counts, Series PC-3, No. 3.

contributed towards metropolitan growth in the United States. Improvements in farm technology have enabled a smaller number of persons on farms to raise the agricultural products required to feed a rapidly increasing total population. The output per farm worker has doubled since 1910,² while tremendous improvements have been made in the yields of crops and herds. For example, the average cow in 1790 produced 1,000 pounds of milk per year; today the average cow produces 5,000 pounds, and there are records of animals producing as much as 50,000 pounds. There was a 30 per cent increase in the yield of corn per acre between 1920 and 1945. The farm tractor has been rapidly replacing the horse as a source of power on the farm, and this is freeing land for the growing of food that formerly had to be used for the growing of feed for farm animals. Thus, the number of horses in the United States declined from 21½ millions in 1915 to only 2 millions in 1950.³

All of this has tended to free an increasingly large proportion of the inhabitants to engage in non-farm work. In 1820, 72 per cent of the working population of the United States was engaged in agricultural pursuits and only 28 per cent in non-agricultural pursuits. By 1940, these percentages had shifted to 82 per cent engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and only 18 per cent in agriculture.

² *Agricultural Outlook Charts*. BAE, USDA, Washington, D. C., October, 1950, p. 5.

³ Data from BAE, USDA.

In 1940 there were only about as many agricultural workers in this country as there were in 1885 when the total population was less than 75 millions.⁴ In the meantime, accelerated industrialization, the expansion of international commerce, the rapid growth of the service industries and improved transportation and communication facilities have encouraged the congregation of peoples into large urban aggregates. Thus, 30.7 per cent of the total urban population now live in the 25 largest cities.

But while numerous recognizable forces have been violently hurling population elements in the direction of the larger cities, many of these elements have failed to stick permanently in the cities but have bounced back a short distance into what might be referred to as the suburban areas. In fact, it is really in the suburban areas where the most rapid increases in population are now taking place. Of the 84 million people living in the metropolitan areas in 1950, 35 million, or 42 per cent, live in the areas outside of the central cities. In these areas, the increase during the last ten years was 35 per cent as compared with an increase of only 13 per cent for the central cities. Fully half of the population increase for the entire nation since 1940 has occurred in the metropolitan areas *outside* of the larger cities.⁵

Since we know that employment opportunities for the vast majority of

⁴ Carl C. Taylor and others, *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 246.

⁵ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*

the local inhabitants do not exist in the suburban areas, we must conclude that the common pattern for the gainfully employed is to use the suburb quite largely as a place to sleep and in which to keep their families while they commute to their jobs in the larger cities. Thus, *The New York Times* recently estimated that about half of all the passengers now carried by American railroads are commuters, and that on a typical working day about half-a-million people move by train into lower Manhattan and the business section of Brooklyn from Long Island, Connecticut, Westchester and New Jersey.⁶ This is in addition to the thousands who pour into New York by auto and bus each day from suburban areas in all directions.

There is considerable evidence, moreover, to the effect that the process of suburbanization is not confined to the fringes of the larger cities, but that it is taking place even around the smaller ones. After a careful analysis of the 1940 census data Donald J. Bogue, of Scripps Foundation for Population Research, recently concluded that cities of all sizes are experiencing suburbanization. He states that from 1930-40, "the diffusive movement into suburban areas was characteristically a rural one. Upstart hinterland cities of all sizes lying outside the range of direct competition with the metropolis began to grow faster than the central and satellite cities. In doing so they tended to ac-

cumulate rural populations about themselves. Even small cities were diffusing into rural territory and fostering their own tiny suburbs. Almost every area which grew at a pace in excess of the national rate of growth in the 1930-40 decade was accomplishing decentralization in one of its forms."⁷

The suburban movement is undoubtedly a two-way process. Not only is the population from the city moving out to the nearby rural areas but the adjacent farm areas confronted by the expansion of cities are themselves caught up in the suburban movement. This may begin when a daughter from the farm family finds employment in a city office building, or a son gets a job in a department store. Part of the farm is later sold off as building lots; the agricultural enterprise becomes a part-time farm and the farm family gradually takes on a semi-urban orientation. The rural non-farm population has increased from 39 per cent of the total rural population in 1920 to 56.9 per cent in 1950 (preliminary census data).

In view of all of these developments one might well be wondering whether or not the really typical American of the future will be found living in *Suburbia* rather than in Mainstreet, in Plainville, or in Middletown. Certainly such a prospect does not seem very far fetched in the Northeast.

⁶ *New York Times*, Sunday, February 11, 1951.

⁷ Donald J. Bogue, *Metropolitan Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth*, Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution—No. 2, August, 1950, p. 16.

Reasons for Migration to the Suburban Areas

The reasons for migrating to the suburbs are as diverse as the backgrounds of the suburbanites themselves. It should be said at the outset that not all clusters of population within a metropolitan area, but outside the central city, are suburbs. In those instances where the central city has merely overflowed its boundaries and spilled into the immediately adjoining territory, the built-up section is too closely identified with the parent city to be classified as a suburb. We would also rule out from consideration so-called industrial suburbs or satellite cities where industry has moved out some distance away from the central city and resulted in a second smaller industrialized city. In other words, what we have in mind here is the residential suburb situated at some distance from the city and necessitating daily commuting on the part of large numbers of the urban employed population.

Speaking of this group, then, one may ask why they should prefer to live at considerable distance from their work and undergo all of the inconveniences of several hours' daily travel than to live in the city. In this connection the following facetious definition of a commuter may be of interest:

"A commuter is a man whose life is divided into two principal parts: coming and going. He is a goat in antelope's clothing. He feeds on time-tables, asterisks, and footnotes. He thrives on duplicated scenery. His life

is one long series of two-hundred-yard dashes."⁸

Generally speaking, suburbanization may be viewed as both a flight from the city and as an attraction towards the romantic ideal of country living. In the former case, it is a sort of escapism and may reflect deep insecurities of urban life.⁹ While people find themselves dependent on the city for earning a livelihood, they flee from it as a dangerous place in which to live and especially in which to rear a family. The first aspect of this is perhaps associated with the problem of health. People have long regarded the city as a less healthful place to live in than the country. This belief may be illustrated, and will perhaps be reinforced, by an article appearing recently in *Life Magazine* under the title of "Science." The opening sentence reads: "Every time a New Yorker takes a breath he inhales 69,000 particles of grit and dust. His lungs are nearly black. Almost everywhere in the United States the city dweller lives in a sea of coal, grime, sulphuric acid, ammonia and other aerial garbage that—whether or not fog may be involved—is generally called 'smog'."¹⁰ The magazine contains a full page of colored photographs purporting to show a comparison between the lungs of a farmer and those of a New Yorker. The farmer's lungs appear to be a beauti-

⁸ H. I. Phillips, "The 7:58 Loses a Passenger," *Collier's*, April 11, 1925, p. 11.

⁹ Solon T. Kimball, *The New Social Frontier: The Fringe*, Michigan AES, Special Bulletin 360 (East Lansing: June, 1949), p. 16.

¹⁰ *Life*, February 12, 1951, pp. 60-61.

ful pink color while those of the New Yorker are dark and dingy. The caption for the farmer's lungs reads: "Farmer's lungs are still clean and pink after 39 years of life, most of it spent in rural parts of the U. S. where he breathed no lung-clogging smoke or smog." The caption for the New Yorker's lungs reads: "New Yorker's lungs after 40 years are blackened by carbon. Carbon itself is harmless to body but in city smoke it may be accompanied by harmful chemicals." The writer does not wish to pass judgment on the validity of these "scientific" observations but merely to call attention to the fact that they fit in very nicely with the traditional conception of the harmful effects of city life.

Closely related to the problem of health is that of congestion as a reason for people leaving the cities. Couples with growing children are especially apprehensive about the lack of lawns, play grounds and space between dwellings as well as about congestion within the dwellings. The problem of what the youngsters can do during their spare time when not in school, or otherwise closely supervised, looms large to parents. The impersonal relations characteristic of the city are also a repelling force especially to families with young children. The next-door neighbors may be completely unknown; they may have widely differing social backgrounds and standards; and this may cause a deep feeling of insecurity among parents and children alike.

In the immediate future, fear of the atom or the hydrogen bomb may ac-

centuate the flight from the larger cities. It has been remarked that what would be the most attractive bombing run in the world extends from Boston to Washington, D. C. Over this stretch, the bombing crews would never be out of sight of choice bombing targets. Thoughts of what bombs might do to city water systems, power lines and transportation systems, with consequent interruptions to food supply, will probably stimulate still more people to search even more diligently for a secluded spot in some inconspicuous outlying area. A glance at the ads in the New York papers these days will show that real estate dealers are already fully aware of the sales value of the bomb in disposing of rural properties.

In addition to the forces of expulsion there are also forces of attraction at work. These become especially effective because the majority of our urban population either have rural backgrounds themselves or they are only a generation or two removed from the land. Those who were born in rural areas may reflect on their childhood and, perhaps forgetting the more unpleasant aspects, develop nostalgia for the open space, the green sod under foot, the clear skies overhead and the abundance of fresh air and sunshine. Even those who were born in cities may have developed a yearning for life in the country from the reminiscences of their parents, from summers spent on the farm with their grandparents, or perhaps from the glowing accounts of rural living as depicted in literature. The idealized small community setting with its

gemeinschaft relations has a romantic appeal to persons enmeshed in the complexities of an urbanized *gesellschaft* type of life.

The prospect of home ownership looms large as an attraction to many suburbanites. Many seem to feel that until they can move into a home which they can claim as their own, even though heavily mortgaged, they are merely living a temporary existence. They feel blocked from home ownership in the city and turn towards the outlying districts. In this connection it is interesting to take note of the construction of hundreds of what might be called "suburban developments" with their neatly arranged rows of compact little houses all of the same variety, each placed on a neat little plot, sometimes even equipped with antenna for the installation of television and often containing a picture window through which the young family might obtain a nice view across the street into the neighboring picture window. Usually these houses all sell for about the same price; and payments are arranged like rent on a monthly basis so that complete home ownership automatically becomes effective after 15, 20, or 25 years. It would be interesting to learn to what extent these little homes become permanent habitations for large numbers of families or to what extent they prove to be only temporary. Another interesting problem in this connection is whether or not the smallness of the house in these compact suburban developments tends to limit the size of the family of the occupants. In other words, does the family tend to confine

its size to the available room, and if so, can it be said that contractors and construction companies exert unintended influence on the birth rate in this type of development?

The suburban movement also includes what might be called a "back to the land movement." This encompasses a large population of urban workers who, for various reasons, prefer to live in what might be referred to as the "deep country" out beyond any of the closely built-up developments or compact villages. These are rather venturesome souls who have a deeper love for mother nature and for the land than for close neighbors or for some of the modern conveniences and services available in compact communities. These open-country dwellers are usually faced with the necessity of providing their own water systems, septic tanks and cesspools, garbage disposals, and many other items. An automobile is as indispensable as a cook stove and many families would feel unduly isolated without two cars, especially when the husband drives one to work. These families quickly learn that it is expensive to bring plumbers, electricians and carpenters from the city, and the husband or wife soon learns to putter around the house fixing leaky water taps and even wielding a respectable paint brush. All of this provides variety which breaks the monotony of specialized urban employment.

These back-to-the-land movements gather momentum during depression years when urban families begin searching for ways of cutting down

rent and supplementing the family income by means of part-time farming. Families with medium or low incomes feel that by raising a few chickens, planting a vegetable garden, and growing their own fuel they can reduce living expenses. The movement is by no means confined to periods of economic depression, however, but is associated generally with the improvement of rapid transportation systems and the expansion of metropolitan communities. As early as 1929 it was estimated that 70 per cent of the farms in southern New England were operated on a part-time basis.¹¹ There are many other tracts of land of considerable size that are merely used as residence areas for families entirely dependent on city incomes. A few of the occupants of these holdings may be persons trying to retain their Wall Street salaries while paying a farmer's taxes; but, most of them are probably middle and upper class families who are not so much concerned about the economics of the arrangement as about the alleged satisfactions of privacy and real country living. The deep-country home has an especially strong appeal to people having sufficient income to equip it with all of the modern conveniences and gadgets now available to urban residents.

In addition to these various groups entering the suburbs from the cities, mention should also be made of those persons who move directly in toward the suburban areas from the smaller

and more remote towns, villages and rural areas. We do not know how large this group is. Among them one would probably find local school teachers, persons employed in the local service industries, vegetable gardeners, and many others. Some of these undoubtedly are motivated by the desire to avail themselves of the "cultural," educational and shopping facilities found only in a large metropolis. They, like many others, are frankly seeking certain advantages offered by a highly urbanized society yet trying to avoid the disadvantages. Thus, they move in toward the big city, but they do not move all the way in.

Problems for Research

There are many aspects of suburbanization which we do not now thoroughly understand and which, in view of the growing importance of the movement, need to be explored. Among these we shall mention a few with the understanding that the list is by no means exhaustive.

1. There is need for further identification and classification of suburban populations into meaningful groupings or community types.¹² These probably would include aristocratic suburbs inhabited by wealthy families with their clipped hedges, country clubs and servants, and their severe restrictions against "undesirables"; compact suburban developments; quaint and picturesque country villages; and the more expansive rural

¹¹ John D. Black, *The Rural Economy of New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 562.

¹² Further study should also be made of the adequacy of the delineation and classification of standard metropolitan areas used by the United States Census in 1950.

areas containing part-time farms and non-farm dwellings interspersed among the farms.

2. There is need for more information regarding the extent and selectivity of the migration. We have tried to indicate that while the movement to the suburban areas includes people with a wide range of social and economic characteristics, nevertheless there does appear to be a concentration of persons in certain categories. The most common among these seem to be family units consisting predominantly of young adults and young children who are struggling to become home-owners, who yearn for life in a small community setting or who seek to obtain for themselves the traditional alleged values of rural life while retaining their urban employment. These characteristics have been observed in studies carried on in Connecticut, New York, and Michigan, but the studies have been somewhat limited in scope and need to be extended into other areas. Since the suburban movement, as was suggested earlier, involves migration both from the city outward and from the rural areas inward, information about the social and economic differences of the people participating in the various streams would be valuable.

3. There appears to be need for information concerning the impact of suburban living on personality. Do such factors as dual community allegiance, hours of daily commuting, the absence of the husband or father from the family, and the predominance of women during the daylight hours, in any way influence the per-

sonalities of the children or of the other members of the family?

4. Data are needed concerning the acquiring of social status in relation to the suburban movement. Are young families who want to "get ahead" impelled to move from the city merely in order to "keep up with the Joneses" even though *Suburbia* offers no particular advantages to them in personal well-being? Is there a pattern of mobility from suburb to suburb which is pursued or is expected as one advances in the social hierarchy?

5. There is need for intensive studies of social conflict in local areas affected by the suburban movement. Often the suburbanites enter as newcomers to older established communities and, when they arrive in large numbers, greatly disturb the *status quo*. They tend to carry into the older communities new ideas with reference to the expansion and modernization of schools, water systems, playgrounds, and community centers. Although many move to the suburb looking for a *gemeinschaft* type of society, they want to find it in a *gesellschaft* setting. They may admire the homey atmosphere of a rural community, but they often deplore the inconveniences of rural life and the unbusinesslike dealings of local merchants, servicemen, and officials. They sometimes meet "head on" with farmers and older residents interested in preserving the heritage of the past and who view with alarm any proposals which might have the effect of increasing local taxes. Thus, social cleavages quickly develop between the newcomers and the older residents. Some-

times the influx of newcomers so profoundly affects the structure of the local community that there is obvious need for re-examination, and possibly reorganization, of the local governmental structure.

6. The relations of the suburban areas to the parent city need to be thoroughly studied. The urban administrator is likely to hold the point of view that the suburbs are "strangling" the city. He would probably argue that a city such as New York, which serves as motherland for hundreds of surrounding towns and villages, must provide costly services such as traffic and parking facilities, police protection, water supply and waste disposal for nearly twice the city's regular population yet can tax only those inhabitants living within its political boundaries.¹³ On the other hand, it can be shown that in some instances the revenue-producing advantages rest with the cities and towns where the industrial and commercial establishments are located rather than with the suburban communities where the workers live. This is often the case when the suburbanites are drawn primarily from the lower income groups rather than from the upper.¹⁴ Some would argue

for the reorganization of governmental units obliterating political boundaries in the metropolitan areas and displacing these by a sort of city state organization which would definitely tie the central city and its contributory areas closely together into one governmental unit so that coordinated planning and administration could prevail. This proposal would probably not be very enthusiastically received by the suburbanites, especially those searching for the small community situation. But, undoubtedly, there is need for further study of the political structure and its implications.

7. We should be interested in learning to what extent the suburbanites are actually experiencing the realization of their aspirations in the suburban area. It might well be asked whether or not, for certain groups, suburban living turns out to be a delusion; and to what extent it is a "way out" for those who find themselves caught up in the web of urban occupations yet who feel insecure and thwarted by the prospect of continued residence in the city.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that conscientious pursuit of the answers to some of these questions would lead one beyond the generally recognized boundaries of sociology

¹³ W. Laas, "Suburbs are Strangling the City," *New York Times*, June 18, 1950.

¹⁴ A forceful example of this is found in the towns of East Hartford and Manchester, Connecticut. In East Hartford is located the famous Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Corporation. At the present time about one-half of the total town revenue of East Hartford comes from the taxes of this concern. Many of the Pratt and Whitney workers, however have moved to comparatively low-cost housing developments in the neighboring town of Manchester. It is claimed that

the tax revenue from some of these housing developments in Manchester is insufficient to pay for the additional burden placed on the town as a result of the required expansion of school facilities, fire and police protection, water supply and other public services. Manchester is thus faced with rising taxes to meet these needs. On the other hand, East Hartford has been able to lower the tax rate because of the revenue from Pratt and Whitney.

and deep into such neighboring disciplines as psychology, political science and land economics. The very nature and complexity of the problems would call for inter-disciplinary cooperation. That such cooperation would be both stimulating and feasible, however, seems obvious where important and meaningful projects are involved.

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Family Farming as a Value

By Robert A. Rohwer†

ABSTRACT

When viewed as one of many values in American life, family farming is seen to compete with some and to be reenforced by others.

Family type farming is defined as family operatorship, under a stable tenure arrangement, on a farm that will provide a satisfactory level of living without underemployment or exploitation. By this standard few of the nation's farms are family type. More farms fall short of the definition than exceed it. The fact that most farms are at least family operated helps to explain why family type farming is more prominent as a value than it is in actuality.

The interrelations of family farming with the desire for self-employment, prestige considerations, preferences of landowners and farm operators, and with several group values, beliefs and customs are shown. In the formation of public policy the unavoidable competition of values is most clearly evident.

Few agricultural problems receive as much attention and as little dispassionate consideration as the competition between family farming and other values. This paper analyzes and describes various ways in which family farming and other values are mutually complementary and competitive in daily decisions of individuals and in public thinking and legislative action.¹

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¹ The facts are worded somewhat from the point of view of a friend of family farming. However, an opponent of family farming will find the thoughts expressed equally true.

I. Definition

Family type farming has four characteristics: (1) family operatorship; (2) a stable tenure arrangement; and a farm large enough to provide the family with (3) full, efficient employment and (4) a satisfactory level of living.²

Family operatorship means that the labor, capital and management reside mainly in the farm family. Except for

² This definition is adapted mainly from that of the Conference on Family Farm Policy. See Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris (editors), *Family Farm Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 7.

seasonal and temporary help the farm family does the work. They have title to most of the livestock and machinery and make most of the decisions about how to run the farm. There is a wide variation in the degree that farm operatorship is actually possessed by farm families.

Americans ordinarily think of stable tenure as being synonymous with fee simple land ownership. But the same rights and duties can be had in other ways.³

A family type farm should be large enough to employ the family fully and efficiently without abusing either the family or the land.

A satisfactory level of living should maintain (a) family health, (b) social and cultural advantages commensurate with the needs of the times, and (c) security for old age.⁴ Although this level of living can be achieved partly through subsistence efforts, it

can also be attained by strictly commercial farmers who produce nothing for home use.

Family farming, more or less like this definition, is still the predominant ideal for American agriculture.

II. Current Situation

The 1945 Census of Agriculture identified nearly 6 million farms. Perhaps 750,000 of these are greater than family type farms, because they hire more than supplementary labor.⁵

Part-time farmers, rural residents and share-croppers added together make 1½ million farms that are not family type.⁶

³ According to the 1940 Census of Population 2½ million people listed their occupation as hired farm laborers. From this 2½ million we can deduct about a half million who are young and relatively inexperienced men, too young to be expected to be family farmers, or women who are not heads of families. We can arbitrarily estimate that about 5/6's of a million more farm laborers are more or less seasonal workers who might need to be employed as supplementary farm laborers even if a maximum of the nation's farms were family type. This leaves a core of about 1 million men who work full time for wages in agriculture, whose work represents "family farm equivalents." (Even in the off season months for farm employment the number of hired workers on farms has rarely been less than 1 million. See *Farm Labor*, monthly publication of the BAE, for February, 1950, pp. 10-11.) Very few American farmers hire more than one year-round man—see the estimates of Louis Ducoff, in *Rural Life in the United States*, by Carl C. Taylor and others, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 285. So we estimate that the one million laborers are employed on about ¼'s of a million farms.

⁴ About 600,000 part-time farmers whose principal occupation is outside agriculture, are reported in the Special Report on the 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture which includes statistics by economic class of farm, pp. 15-16 and 120, and by M. R. Benedict, F. F. Elliott, H. R. Tolley and Conrad Taeuber, "Need for a New Classification of

⁵ A large proportion of the tenants in New Zealand operate crown lands with virtually all of the advantages of fee simple land ownership. Oklahoma school lands are similar. In Britain tenancy between private individuals has been modified by law and custom so that few of the disadvantages that characterize American tenancy remain.

Some able writers insist that farm ownership need not be a part of the definition at all. (See, for example, T. W. Schultz, *Production and Welfare of Agriculture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 31. Ackerman and Harris, *op. cit.*, speak of "tenant-operated family farms" and indicate that the conference did not completely agree on a definition of family farming.) My point of view is that tenure circumstances such as relative freedom from fear of eviction and the opportunity to improve the farm belong in a definition of family farming. But it does not matter whether these conditions are achieved through farm ownership or otherwise.

⁶ Otis Durant Duncan, "Freedom to be Free," *Land and Home*, VII (December, 1944), 97.

Another 2½ million farms are not family type because they do not provide a satisfactory level of living at present, and probably do not use land, labor and capital efficiently without abuse.⁷

Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXVI (1944), 707.

Benedict and others, *ibid.*, estimate 600,000 residential farms in 1940: product value under \$600; operator 65 years or older; worked less than 100 days off the farm.

Almost another half million farms are operated by share-croppers. A share-cropper is not a family farmer, because, like a farm laborer, he departs from the definition at almost every point. He owns little or none of his operating equipment. He is usually allowed few managerial decisions. He owns no land. The inefficiency with which he frequently follows one-crop systems of farming, and his low levels of living are well known.

Lee Fryer presents a level of living "yardstick" in *The American Farmer* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 15 based on ten years of Farm Security Administration experience in dealing with almost a million farm families. The total cost of family living, including a value placed on food and fuel from the farm, is \$1,750 at 1940 prices. In 1945, with a higher price tag on the items of Fryer's 1940 minimum-adequate living, nearly three million farms produced less than \$1,750 gross income. Even if we assume that the 1½ million part-time, rural resident, and share-cropper farmers are among this three million of lowest income, the other million and a half have an income too low to meet the criterion of adequacy for family farms.

In addition to the three million farms with gross income under \$1,750, another million probably yield a net income under \$1,750. Farmers whose gross income from farming is less than \$2,500 probably have net incomes well under the \$1,750 minimum. On most farms almost half of the gross income, or more, must be spent for production expenses. (See *Agricultural Outlook Charts—1950*, Washington, D. C., USDA, BAE, October, 1949, pp. 28, 93 and 97.) On smaller farms, if anything, a higher proportion of the gross income goes for expenses than on large and medium size farms. So few farms with gross income under \$2,500 are likely to yield a return to operator and family labor over \$1,750, our minimum.

If the three-fourths of a million employer farmers are deducted from the top of the farm income continuum, and about four million farms fail to qualify on the bottom, only a million or at most a million and a half of the total of six million farms remain. Even some of these may fail to be completely family type according to our definition, but they are probably fairly close approximations.⁸

The results of this examination probably do not mean that family farming has recently and swiftly lost ground to large scale farming. There have been large scale holdings and operations in the United States since

⁷ Others, using fairly similar definitions and methods, arrive at estimates not far different. T. W. Schulz (*op. cit.*, Chapter 5, pp. 30-34) says that "only a fraction of the farms in the United States meet fully the specifications which we have laid down for a family farm." His figures suggest a total of less than 1,500,000 family farms.

Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 264 using the categories of M. R. Benedict, F. F. Elliott, H. R. Tolley, and Conrad Taeuber (*op. cit.*), classified 2,973,192 farms as "family-commercial farms." However, 1,053,575 have value of products under \$1,000, and 1,389,018, from \$1,000-2,499.

The first two elements of the definition used here, family operatorship and stable tenure, can be viewed as the basic characteristics of family farming. Then, the third and fourth elements, non-exploitive efficiency and an adequate living, can be considered criteria for judging the performance of the family farm. This interpretation places a ceiling but no floor on the definition. If it is followed most of the nation's farms are family type. This seems to be the reasoning of most of the people who (like Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 265) speak of family farming as currently dominant in the U. S., or who like A. Whitney Griswold, *Farming and Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 86 regard "the overwhelming majority of the world's farms," with some important exceptions, as family farms. (See also pp. 128-136.)

Colonial days. The numerous industrial farms that have come, persisted, and gone suggest that the present situation may be usual.⁹

Most American farms today fail to be family type, judged by a four point definition that includes requirements of performance. Yet, family farming is far from dead; a majority of American farm workers are at least farm operators; and more farms fall short of family type than are beyond it.

III. The Competition of Values

Values are the ideas people have about how reality ought to be.¹⁰ Family farming as a value is more nearly a means than are certain other values which are more nearly "ultimate" ends. Even so, means often come to be cherished for their own sake, and such seems to be the case with family farming.

Certain social values tend to be mutually exclusive and contradictory. A people cannot gain one such value without giving up some of the other.¹¹

⁹ Arthur Moore, in *The Farmer and the Rest of Us* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), p. 170, says: "Great agricultural projects come and go continually . . . If it were not for their death rate they long since would have taken over American agriculture."

¹⁰ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 1,027. Myrdal speaks of valuations rather than values.

¹¹ This conflict is well stated in the case of land policies by Buis T. Inman and Wm. H. Fippin: "Two divergent objectives, frequently in conflict, have been basic in our national land policy ever since colonial days. One objective is that agricultural land should be held in family-sized units by those who till the soil. The other is that individuals should be free to acquire as

Some values in a culture are complementary. They reenforce each other even though the society does not consciously support the one in order to strengthen the other. Values compete with and complement each other in both public and private contexts.

Wish for Self-employment, a Competing and Complementary Value

Family farming is bolstered by the desire of American men for the independence of self-employment. If one asks either established farmers or beginners what they like most about farming, the most consistent answer is, "Independence!"¹²

Because great numbers of young men persistently refuse to farm at all except as farm operators, land is available for other family farmers. Many landowners would rather manage their land than rent it out, and

much or as little land as their resources and abilities may permit . . . (So)

"In spite of . . . family-farm programs, data . . . indicate that the owner-operator family-farm objective has been only partially realized in the United States." (*Farm Land Ownership in the United States*, Misc. Publ. No. 699, USDA, BAE, December, 1949, pp. 1-2.)

¹² In a survey conducted by Elmo Roper for *Fortune* magazine farmers were asked to name the two things they liked most about farming. More than half of the farmers, who presumably are a sample of the entire U. S. in 1943, mentioned "being own boss." The next highest response was given only a third as often. Volume 27, No. 3, March, 1943, p. 8.

Fifty college men who planned to farm were recently asked by the writer whether they would be planning to farm if they knew that first they must work for wages as married hired men on Midwestern farms for ten years, but with a chance to start as a farm operator certain at the end of the ten years. Three fourths of them said, "No, I would not give the best years of my life to someone else."

many farm operators would rent or buy additional land if they could hire reliable men to work for them. But for lack of help the landlords rent their land and the operators do not expand. A shortage of farm laborers complements the value, family farming.

Farming is the last major occupation in which the majority of people do not take orders from others. Large scale entrepreneurs prize independence too—for themselves. Many urban people think highly of unlimited freedom for the most able operators and for other managers who got off to an early start.¹³ They seem to have less regard for the "freedom of enterprise" of people whose only present alternative is to work for others. If farmers, too, come to cherish their right to expand their units indefinitely more than they prize family farming, family type farming will be threatened.

Many family farmers have long seen this fact clearly. They deliberately choose not to hire a full time man because they prefer to see the man operate a farm for himself.¹⁴ In parts of the Midwest, the community expects, rather passively to be sure, that a farmer-employer of means will sooner or later help a faithful employee to start for himself. Both employers and hired men regard several

years of working for the same man as a tacit obligation upon the boss to aid the man to set up in farming, although they are not likely to have talked to each other about it. The "live and let live" philosophy of farm people competes with a different conception of freedom that appears in full page advertisements and editorials in many farm journals.

Prestige Competition

Family farming is in prestige competition with other standards of success. Every year certain farmers are selected to be honored publicly.¹⁵ If *big* farming rather than good farming and community service is honored in the selections, family farming is weakened. Negatively, and less pleasantly, the tendency for rural communities to label large scale farmers as "greedy land hogs" probably bolsters family farming.

Alternatives in rural social organization reflect the competition of family farming with considerations of prestige and power. For example, a farm organization can function with the unfederated county unit as its principal local group. But, if its local unit is a neighborhood or community group, it is likely to serve more people and to represent family farmers, and it is less likely to develop an agricultural aristocracy.

If the assortive mating of farm youth is guided by social stratification, family farming will be affected. If farm children seek to marry only

¹³ Family farming, as defined in this paper, involves the full and efficient use of land, capital and labor, but not management, if full use of the management skill of certain farmers would involve them in large scale operations.

¹⁴ Observations of the writer in personally interviewing 450 farmers in Hamilton County and Cherokee County, Iowa, 1946-49.

¹⁵ See Clifford V. Gregory, "The Master Farmer Movement," *Agricultural History*, X (April, 1936), 47-55.

young people of comparable wealth, social position and property holdings, agricultural land will become concentrated into the hands of some, while others will be left landless.

It has been said that "Eight out of ten men at a Rotary luncheon are likely to own farms—and are likely to be talking farming."¹⁶ When business and professional men think it fashionable to own a commercial farm and pleasant to dabble in its management, they are likely to drive up the price of land beyond the means of bona fide farmers. When the owner of a strictly hobby farm instructs his manager to show a loss for income tax purposes or be fired, family farming faces a competing value.¹⁷ Those urban investors who give it a thought weigh the pleasure of prestige to be gained from owning and controlling a farm against their belief that family farmers should have room to work and a chance to own the land. Some combine the two values and find their pleasure in helping a younger farmer to start or in financing the effort of a tenant to achieve ownership.

Landowners' and Farm Operators' Values

Under fee simple ownership of land, landowners can affect the pattern of land use greatly. Landlords often rent to expanding farm operators who already farm large acreages but who

own a great deal of machinery. If, when farms are scarce, less well equipped beginners seeking a foothold are turned down, family farming will decline.

Many absentee landlords would rather own farm land without buildings than a farm with a good set of buildings. They say that they get the same income with negligible expense for upkeep. In the long run the lack of livestock on unimproved farms may diminish profits and revive landlords' interest in improvements. Meanwhile family farming competes with landlords' preferences for unimproved land.

Professional farm management concerns can influence family farming in several directions. They can assume most of the management function, and sometimes do.¹⁸ They can improve the work of family farmers who pay fees for professional counsel. Or, they

¹⁶ Some of their farmer clients say, "They tell you what to do," implying that the management firm has usurped the operatorship function ordinarily left more completely to the tenant.

The American Society of Farm Managers and Rural Appraisers define what the employment of farm management service implies: the manager is supposed to prepare a plan of operation and get the owner's approval. Then the manager finds a tenant or hired operator, sees that the plan is put into effect, and supervises the tenant or operator in: selecting and inoculating seeds; tillage; weed control; care, harvesting, storage and marketing of crops; selection, care, feeding, handling, and marketing livestock in which the farm owner has an interest; fertilizing; determining when and where to haul manure, etc. (See the Doane Rural Appraisal Handbook, published by the Doane Agricultural Service, Inc., St. Louis, 1947, p. 991.) Obviously, if the manager does all of this uncompromisingly, the "operator" can be reduced to a share-cropper or hired man status.

¹⁶ Arthur Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Farmers' attitudes toward hobby farmers are described in Connecticut AES Bulletin 261, *Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut*, Henry W. Riecken, Jr., and Nathan L. Whetten, pp. 66-67.

can build a professional code of ethics which embodies a concept of family farming.¹⁹ The management firm seems now to be a service agency for landlords with the main focus on a relatively short term profit and loss statement. At most, the professional farm managers are amoral toward the family farm. Their methods and values may represent a potential threat to it.

Farm operators who retire with modest wealth give someone else a chance to farm sooner. Those whose conception of success is a maximum accumulation, are likely to exceed family size operations themselves and will delay the openings for beginners.

Some farm operators hope to cease manual labor as soon as they can but plan to continue to manage their farms by hiring a married man. This intention to retire only partially is a value that competes with family farming.

Better roads, cars and household conveniences in the country and high priced housing in town encourage many farm owners to retire in the houses on their farms and rent the land to others nearby. A farmstead occupied by a landlord reduces family

farming opportunities by one, if the farm unit is large enough to meet our definition.

Group Values, Beliefs and Customs

For brevity, the values in this section will be more tersely stated.

If rural birth rates approximate urban rates, and fewer people move from farm to city, the nostalgic sympathy of urban dwellers for the family farm may decline in the future.

If urban people question the assumption that family farming is peculiarly conducive to democracy, as A. Whitney Griswold has done,²⁰ some of them may withdraw their support.

Churches, foundations and other organizations may deliberately create sentiment favorable to the family farm.²¹

The conviction that bigness of economic organization and concentration in agriculture is inevitable, even though wrong, can be extremely powerful if firmly believed.

The physical fact of dispersed farmsteads is a social value, because most farmers like it. It tends to discourage large scale operation.

American inheritance customs call for equal treatment of heirs. If the

¹⁹ The code of ethics of the American Society of Farm Managers and Rural Appraisers is concerned entirely with such things as honesty, bribery, accuracy and how properly to solicit new business. (*Ibid.*, p. 801) The list of objectives to which the society is devoted does not mention family farming, unless it be construed to come under "Full cooperation with all agencies striving to improve American rural life on a sound basis." (p. 25) A family farm is defined as one "operated largely or entirely with the labor of the operator and his family." (p. 991.1)

²⁰ *Farming and Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948).

²¹ For example, one-day, county-wide, inter-denominational institutes, sponsored jointly by State Councils of Churches and The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, are being held. Their topic is "The Church and the Family Farm." The Farm Foundation emphasizes family farming. (See *The Farm Foundation, 1933-1945*, published by The Board of Trustees, 600 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Illinois, 1945, especially pages 22-23.)

estate is a family type farm, the equity, not the farm unit, ordinarily is split. If the estate is large scale, division may reduce it to family size. In the future smaller farm families may permit more large farms to persist.

The family itself is likely to continue to strengthen the pattern of family type farming. There is fragmentary evidence that more farmers than not have been helped by the previous generation to start on their own.²²

If social scientists arrange their "social bookkeeping" so that it will reflect farming systems accurately, the interrelations of values will be clarified.²³

²² J. S. Starrak, *Problems of Beginning Farmers in Iowa*, Iowa AES Research Bulletin 313 (1943); Robert A. Rohwer, "Social Relations in Beginning as a Farm Operator in an Area of Prosperous, Commercial Farming," *Rural Sociology*, XIV (December, 1949), pp. 325-335; K. H. Parsons and E. O. Waples, *Keeping the Farm in the Family*, Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 157, (September, 1945); in addition, the following State publications concern father-son agreements: Ohio AES Bull. 219, 1949; Pennsylvania AES Bull. 492, 1948; Oregon Extension Bull. 674, 1946; Colorado AES Bull. 491, 1946; Minnesota AES Bull. 248, 1946; Nebraska Extension Circular 878, 1945; Michigan AES Spec. Bull. 330, 1944; Vermont Extension Service Brieflet 585, 1941; and perhaps others.

²³ Gross data for all farmers or data per farm should not be discussed, as they often are, as if all farmers were family type farmers. Farm wage workers must be considered whenever the human factor in agriculture is studied. For example, California, Iowa and Texas currently vie for top honors in the average net income per farm operator. But if the net income per farm worker, including farm laborers, were calculated, it is doubtful if California would rank as high. Similarly, tenure trends can show a spurious "improvement" if attention is focused

IV. Competing Values in Public Policy

The competition of values is much easier to see in the formation of public policy, when spokesmen for groups oppose each other, than in the preferences of private persons. So, we shall consider family farming as a public policy objective only briefly.

The system of farming, like the pattern of land ownership,²⁴ can virtually be determined by popular support working through a democratic government. Even though a people are indifferent toward family farming, their legislators are constantly obliged to affect it. Legislation for agriculture can seldom be worded so that it does not favor one type of farming or another.

only on farm operators. Large landowners in an area of multiple-unit farming might cease renting to tenants but hire all the former tenants as wage workers. If so, the percentage of tenancy would decline and the income per farm operator probably would go up considerably. But the facts, gained only from farm operator statistics, would show quite a false picture. The errors that can result from ignoring farm laborers are avoided by Taylor, Ducoff and Hagood in *Trends in the Tenure Status of Farm Workers in the United States Since 1880*, Washington, D. C., USDA, BAE, July 1948, by using the proportions that owners, tenants and farm laborers are of all farmers. For greater accuracy, farm wage workers should be included in all surveys and studies of farms and farm people.

²⁴ For example: "All the programs of tenure adjustment applied in Ireland, introduced by legislation and executed by public agencies, have attained notable results. . . . Of the total number of farm occupiers in 1870, the high proportion of 97 per cent consisted of tenants; in 1926 in the Irish Free State, only 3 per cent of the agricultural land was in the hands of tenants." Elizabeth R. Hooker, *Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938), pp. 216-217.

Since farmers are a rapidly diminishing minority of the nation's population, they have a public relations problem. They must either convince consumers that farmers have as much right as industry has long enjoyed to hold up prices by curtailing production, or they must try to solve their own parity problems by leading the way and getting others to join them in producing abundantly and maintaining the income of all consumers.

The most conspicuous failure of family farmers and their friends to perceive the interrelationships of values is the refusal of many of them to support measures intended to help farm laborers. The product of underpaid wage workers and the product of family farmers sell on the same market. By permitting large scale operators to exploit farm laborers family farmers have lowered costs for their competitors and have depressed their own levels of living. But few seem to see this relationship. The family type of farmer has thought mostly about the few days or weeks when he or his neighbor hires a man, and has sided with the employer-farmer. By not thinking of himself as a family farmer, he has given comfort to rival values and penalized his own.

Values within agriculture sometimes compete with values outside agriculture when public policy is formulated. Industrialists fear that benefits withheld from large scale farmers or handicaps placed upon them may establish precedents for later application to urban corporations. So they oppose legislation spe-

cifically designed to promote family farming.²⁵

Numerous State and Federal measures, ranging from the Homestead Act of 1862 and the public sponsoring and dissemination of agricultural research to the work of the Farm Security Administration, have been enacted on behalf of family farming. Many other possibilities for such legislation, such as graduated land taxes and prohibition of corporate farming, have been tried little if at all. Some agricultural legislation, such as AAA or PMA price supports based on production without regard for the size of the farm unit, has provided bonuses for big producers and worked against family farmers. What future farm legislation will be depends upon people's preferences and the clarity with which the interrelatedness of values is seen by friend and foe of family farming.

V. Summary

Family type farming involves family operatorship and a stable tenure arrangement with the requirement that the farm must provide non-exploitative full employment and a satisfactory level of living. By this definition about three fourths of the farms in the United States are not family type, mainly because they are inadequate. Family farming still re-

²⁵ The brief reception given Secretary Brannan's proposal that price supports apply only to the first 1,800 "comparative units," or about \$26,000 worth, for any individual farmer, is a good example. (See *Farm Policy Forum*, July, 1949, page 5, for Brannan's proposal.)

mains a prominent value, probably because a majority of the farms are at least family operated.

The values of a people complement and compete with each other in countless decisions that individuals and groups make daily. The desire of farm workers to be self-employed both supports the pattern of family farming and makes it more difficult. Family farming must compete with considerations of prestige. Landowners and farm operators weigh family farming against other values when they decide how to use their farms. A number of customs, beliefs and group activities affect the system of farming. The leg-

islature is an arena where family farming is constantly being attacked and defended both deliberately and unwittingly.

The future of family type farming does not depend upon how much people prize family farming in an absolute sense. It depends on the willingness of farmers and nonfarmers to value farming *more* than they prize competing values, on their ability to understand clearly what family farming is and how it is tied up with other habits, practices and values, and on their support of customs and practices that complement rather than destroy family farming.

Property Among the Mormons

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ABSTRACT

The laissez-faire conception of absolute property rights which predominated in nineteenth century America did not characterize the thinking of the Mormons during the fifty years after the settlement of the Great Basin in 1847. Property rights were regulated by the principle of stewardship, which occupied an important place in Mormon theology. The earth was the Lord's. A Mormon's highest responsibility was to husband the soil and use other property under the direction of Church leaders, whose basic policy was to build up "Zion," or the Kingdom of God on earth. Property rights were conditional upon beneficial use; natural resources were publicly-owned; business income from property was regulated; and owners were frequently called upon to donate their property to the community. Property rights thus being regulated by the Church in the interests of the group, the basic institution of capitalism cannot be said to have prevailed in early Utah.

I

Seldom has an institution been subjected to more rigorous and widespread cross-examination than has the institution of private property in this century. The evils and abuses of private property have given commun-

ism its most powerful vindication, while the efficiencies and freedoms usually associated with it have roused citizens of this and other countries to defend its essential social usefulness. The cross-currents of changing technology and ideological patterns in the past fifty years have caused the

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institution of private property to undergo a considerable transformation. This has been true in America quite as much as in Europe and Asia. Social arrangements pertaining to property which were acceptable to the frontiersmen and free enterprisers of past generations have been subjected to extensive modification in the interests of group security and welfare. One has only to contemplate the popular attitudes with respect to property a hundred years ago to realize the magnitude of the change which has taken place.

Property rights, in nineteenth-century America, were regarded, by and large, as natural, absolute, sacred, and unconditioned—a view which was spawned in England to fight the divine right of kings. To the typical American of a hundred years ago property meant the exclusive use, enjoyment and control of resources—both natural and man-made. This prevailing view, of course, was not shared by some of the small bands of religious enthusiasts which dotted the American landscape of the last century. Such institutions of "Babylon" as absolute private property, for example, found little acceptance among the Latter-day Saints or Mormons, a group whose contributions to the economic development of the West have not been fully studied or appreciated.¹

¹ A special exception must be made for the Mormon practice of settling in villages which has been ably described for the sociological world by Dr. Lowry Nelson in a series of well-done monographs which will be summarized with additional comment in *The Mormon Farm Village: A Study in Social Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

The Mormons developed a conception of property which was in many respects unique and noteworthy. But it must be emphasized, at the outset, that the *leitmotiv* of the frontier society in which the Mormons and similar groups were cradled was that property rights were natural rights, or at least they were expedient, and they were not contingent upon the performance of services or the discharge of obligations to society. Private rights were regarded as indefeasible and unassailable, and it is for that reason that the institution of private property is said to have prevailed.²

This dominating conception of property as a right to which no corresponding obligation was attached led to what is now referred to as the era of "rugged individualism" in American history. It resulted in unparalleled waste of natural resources, in undemocratic inequality of wealth, and in a spirit of selfish aggrandizement that appalled many sensitive

² An outstanding liberal philosopher has summarized the 19th century conception as follows: "But what is meant by the rights of property? In ordinary use the phrase means just that system to which long usage has accustomed us. This is a system by which a man is free to acquire by any method of production or exchange, within the limits of the law, whatever he can of land, consumable goods, or capital; to dispose of it at his own will and pleasure for his own purposes, to destroy it if he likes, to give it away or sell it as it suits him, and at death to bequeath it to whomsoever he will. The state can take a part of a man's property by taxation. But in all taxation the state is taking something from a man which is 'his,' and in so doing is justified only by necessity."—L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911).

citizens.³ Of course, there was an economic root for this individualistic, inviolable conception of property in America. In a new country, land and natural resources appeared to be sufficiently abundant that what was appropriated by one would cause no hardship to others. There seemed to be plenty for everyone. America was bonanza—a land of unlimited resources. The settlement of the nation, however, caused the unappropriated land to become progressively more scarce. The tragic waste of resources brought visions of chronic deficiency. Unfettered economic freedom and absolute property rights became increasingly violative of social justice and social welfare. The recent copious legislation designed to curb the excesses and abuses of absolute property rights brought an inevitable termination to the great but destructive era of individual freedom and license.

Private property was one of the first of the important institutions of laissez-faire to undergo serious modification among the Mormons.⁴ In an effort to achieve a satisfactory reconciliation between the conflicting goals of individual freedom and social welfare, leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints experimented with many new concepts and practices. Some of these were un-

doubtedly influenced by the experiences of the Mormon people during the turbulent years before the first contingent of Latter-Day Saints arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley, July 24, 1847. Others seem to have been modified by the geography and economics of the Great Basin area. All of them were shaped by the singular theology of Mormonism. The combined effect of these new institutional relationships was to create a cultural island of group sufficiency in a sea of fashionable and unregimented individualism. Of particular interest to the rural sociologist and economist are the social usages of the Mormons pertaining to property and ownership.

II

The Mormon conception of property was originally derived from a "revelation" to the Church founder, Joseph Smith, Junior, in Kirtland, Ohio, in February 1831.⁵ This revelation—the law of consecration and stewardships—explained the divine economic system as one in which all members of the Church were to "consecrate" or deed their property to the Church. The bishop would then grant an "inheritance" or life-lease to the member according to his "needs and circumstances." All that the "steward" or member produced in excess of his needs (his "surplus") was to be consecrated to the bishop's storehouse for distribution to the needy and for

³ The classic, if divergent, criticisms of 19th century attitudes with respect to property are: R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1920); and Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (25th Anniversary Ed.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1911).

⁴ A study of other divergent economic institutions in Mormonism would be interesting and instructive.

⁵ The original revelation is found in Section 42 of the Church's *Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City, numerous editions). Other revelations expanded the treatment found in Sec. 42.

other purposes. This interesting program of economic reform was in operation for about three years in Mormon communities in Missouri and Ohio, and was finally replaced, in 1838, with a "lesser state" in which Church revenue was to be based on tithing and no particular set of social and economic institutions was specifically enjoined.

The mechanics of the law of consecration and stewardships (sometimes called the United Order) do not concern us here.⁶ What strikes the observer immediately is the interest of early Mormon leaders in the social and economic welfare of their followers, and their willingness to experiment with new sets of institutions for the improvement and perfection of the economic organization of society. It is common for religious faiths to look with disdain upon the material side of life.⁷ In Mormonism, however, the temporal and spiritual have had precisely the same standing, being regarded as but different manifesta-

tions of a fundamental unity between this world and the next world. This curious blending of economics and religion has led some scholars to go as far as to say, with Ray Stannard Baker, that "... Mormonism is a broad mode of life, a system of agriculture, an organization for mutual business advancement, rather than a mere church. . . ." Mormonism thus stands in sharp contrast with Tawney's description of the Church in England in the eighteenth century:

In the eighteenth century both the State and the Church had abdicated that part of the sphere which had consisted in the maintenance of a common body of social ethics; what was left of it was repression of a class, not the discipline of a nation. . . . And the Church was even more remote from the daily life of mankind than the State. Philanthropy abounded; but religion, once the greatest social force, had become a thing as private and individual as the estate of the squire or the working clothes of the laborer. . . . God had been thrust into the frigid altitudes of infinite space.⁹

More important to our immediate purpose is the fact that the United Order revelations impressed a certain conception of property upon the minds of the Mormon people—a conception which was to remain indelibly fixed as a basic element in the social and economic creed of Mormonism.

⁶ They have been described in Joseph A. Geddes, *The United Order Among the Mormons (Missouri Phase): An Unfinished Experiment in Economic Organization* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1924); and Hamilton Gardner, "Communism Among the Mormons," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXVII (November, 1922), 134-174.

⁷ A short but illuminating discussion of leading faiths and their attitude toward economics is found in G. H. Bousquet, "Une Théocratie Économique: L'Église Mormone," *Revue d'économie politique*, L (Part 1-1936), 106-145. Bousquet concludes that in Mormonism "the things of this world and those of the other world" are placed on the same level. This "clearly differentiates Mormonism from all other religious movements which have equal universal pretensions."—*Ibid.*, 109-110.

⁸ "The Vitality of Mormonism—A Study of an Irrigated Valley in Utah and Idaho," *The Century Magazine*, LXVIII (June, 1904), 174.

⁹ R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

It was this conception which facilitated the cooperative development of the Great Basin by the Mormons.

The earth and all properties on the earth are the Lord's, according to the Mormon *Doctrine and Covenants*; ¹⁰ the people are not owners but stewards of their possessions. ¹¹ A good Christian is a good steward over the property he manages. He is accountable to the Lord and His servants. ¹² He holds himself ready to lay all the property in his care upon the altar of the Lord for the benefit of the poor and needy. ¹³ In the Kingdom of God, in short, there is no such thing as fee simple in land. Property rights are limited, tentative, and temporary. Property rights are derivative and subordinate; property is a conditional trust. Property is to be used, according to the voice of the revelation, "For the purpose of building up my church and kingdom on the earth, and to prepare my people for the time when I shall dwell with them. . . ." ¹⁴ In short, in the words of Bacon, property was to be used "for the glory of God and the relief of men's estate." ¹⁵

An interesting evidence of the infusion of this philosophy into the thought pattern of Utah's early settlers is the widespread custom of the "dedication." In manifestation of their acceptance of the provisional nature of property rights, the Mor-

mon colonists, in formal ceremonies, dedicated, by solemn prayer, their homes, farms, crops, shops, factories, dams, and public buildings for "the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God." The dedication, in sociological terms, was a device by which a property owner (or owners) signified to Deity that the property would always be used in a way which would be pleasing to God and to His duly constituted earthly authorities. ¹⁶ The covenants made in these ceremonies were taken very seriously. Few of these dedicatory prayers, except those for important public projects, were ever recorded for posterity, but typical of those which have come to light is the prayer of dedication of C. F. Middleton upon the completion of his home in Ogden, Utah:

Our Father, who art in heaven, we have assembled ourselves together in this house. . . . Our Heavenly Father, we are truly thankful and grateful unto Thee that Thou hast prospered us, and opened the way before us, that we have been able to build this house, and we therefore wish to dedicate and consecrate it unto Thee, and we ask Thee to bless the soil of the lot on which this house stands, that it may become fertile and productive, that the grass, the trees, the vegetables and shrubbery may grow and flourish thereon. We also ask Thee that Thou bless the foundation on which this building stands . . . that it may be a safe and strong building, that the

¹⁰ *Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 104:13-18; 55-56.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 51:4-5; 104:11-13, 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, Sec. 42:32; 72:3; 104:12-13.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Sec. 104:18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. 104:59.

¹⁵ Cited in Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, op. cit., p. 181.

¹⁶ The dedication functioned also as a reminder to the Deity that this property, being His in the final analysis, was entitled to His protective care.

winds and storms may not injure it. . . . And we do humbly ask Thee that Thou would bless this house, that no evil spirits may enter into it, and that Thy Holy Spirit, and our guardian angels may ever be in it, so that when our friends visit us they may feel and know that Thy Spirit is here with us, and that we may dwell here together in peace and ever praise Thy Holy Name . . . and now we dedicate and consecrate this building unto Thee for a dwelling place for Thy servant and his family, and to entertain our relatives and friends, who may visit us. All of which we do in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ. . . . Amen.¹⁷

The dedication was not only an explicit recognition that the earth was the Lord's, but also represented tacit acceptance, by those loyal to the Church, of the regulation and limitation of property rights by "the Lord's anointed." If the property was dedicated to the Lord, surely his servants, the prophets, had the ultimate disposal of it.

III

Such was the attitude of Utah's early settlers towards property and ownership. And it mattered little what was the nature of the land laws of the nation in which their Zion was located. This conception of the institution of property as being the instrument for the attainment of given group objectives, it must be empha-

¹⁷ "Daughters of Utah Pioneers," *Heart Throbs of the West* (11 vols., Salt Lake City, 1936-1950), V, 63-64. So far as the writer knows, no sociologist has made a study of the significance of Mormon dedicatory prayers and services.

sized, goes back to the very beginnings of Mormonism—to the revelations of Joseph Smith pertaining to the establishment of the United Order in Missouri.¹⁸ Scholars have usually assumed that when the decision was made to abandon the United Order experiments in 1834, prevailing capitalistic institutions were re-enthroned. But neither nature nor mankind makes such jumps. While the United Order was in operation, a body or "cake" of ideals and practices grew up which was to form a permanent part of Mormon philosophy and action. The very heart of the United Order—the conception of property ownership as a life-lease subject to beneficial use and social direction—continued to govern the thinking of the Church members and the directives of Church leaders. This was the residue of good derived from experimentation with the law of consecration and stewardships. In Hegelian terms, laissez-faire institutions were thesis, the United Order system was antithesis, and the idea of steward-

¹⁸ Of course this idea was not entirely novel. Wesley P. Lloyd has made a comparison of the philosophies of Brigham Young and John Calvin and comments as follows: "The doctrine of stewardship was the principle upon which the theories of wealth of both Calvin and Young were based. Man was not the owner of wealth but the custodian of the riches of God. It followed then that the proper use of all surplus was the building up of God's kingdom. Being rich was not a sin, for sin occurred in the improper use of the riches. A rapid increase in one's possessions indicated an alert stewardship." "An Analysis of the Social Philosophies of Brigham Young and John Calvin, with special reference to their similarities as they were expressed through the Utah and Geneva Theocracies" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1933), pp. 113-114.

ship in property ownership and management was the resulting synthesis.

How did Mormon leaders implement this conception of property in directing the temporal affairs of the Saints in early Utah? What principles represented Church policy?

The first great principle was that property rights were conditional upon use. Property rights would not be granted or protected if the owner refused to utilize or develop the property. The first pronouncement of Brigham Young in regard to the government of the infant Mormon colony included the following stipulation:

No man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it.¹⁹

This policy seems to have been rather closely adhered to. The speculative withholding of land from use was averted, and the purchase or appropriation of town lots for the sake of the increase in value was prevented. The acquisition and maintenance of monopoly in land was not permitted. An example of ecclesiastical enforcement of this policy is told by a high Church official in his published diary. After deciding to venture on his own after a period of hiring himself out as a laborer, Mar-

riner W. Merrill, in 1854, located in the Salt Lake Valley some waterless land which was considered to be outside the margin of irrigation. In his words,

... I found on further inquiry that Brother Goudy Hogan claimed the land. This tract of land contained 100 acres. I applied to Brother Hogan to buy his claim as he had plenty of land without it, and as it had cost him nothing I thought I was entitled to a portion of the public domain to build a home upon. Brother Hogan refused to sell or let me have the land or any portion of it, and I felt that he was selfish and did not love his brother as the precepts of the Gospel require. So I applied to the Bishop, John Stoker, but did not get any encouragement from him, he letting me think there was no water for the land and that it was worthless to me. But I did not view things in that light exactly, although I was not at that time acquainted fully with the importance of irrigation to mature crops. So I applied to the Territorial Surveyor, Jesse W. Fox, who was very kind to me and gave me all the information he could about the land, and even took me up to President Young's office to talk to him about it. President Young did not favor the policy of one man claiming so much land and directed the surveyor, Brother Fox, to make me out a plat of the land for the 100 acres and also to give me a surveyor's certificate for it. This was done, and on presenting my claim to Brother Hogan he was very angry and said many hard things to me. But he surrendered his claim and I was the lawful claim-

¹⁹ Journal of Wilford Woodruff, July 25, 1847, cited in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1930), III, 269.

ant of 100 acres of land by the then rules of the country.²⁰

Thus, priority of occupation was not allowed to play, in early Utah, the role which it had played elsewhere in America. But it would be a mistake to conclude that this policy referred only to property in land. Just as the philosophy of stewardship applied to all human possessions—even to bodies and minds—so the policy that property rights were conditional upon use applied to money and other forms of capital quite as much as to land. Brigham Young's statements on this matter are clear and decisive:

A man has no right with property which, according to the laws of the land, legally belongs to him, if he does not want to use it; he ought to possess no more than he can put to usury, and cause to do good to himself and his fellow-man. . . .

No man should keep money or property by him that he cannot put to usury for the advancement of that property in value or amount, and for the good of the community in which he lives. . . . Never hide up anything in a napkin, but put it forth to bring an increase. . . .

When we first came into the Valley, the question was asked me, if men would ever be allowed to come into this Church, and remain in it, and hoard up their property. *I say, NO.* . . . The man who lays up his gold and silver, who caches it away in a bank, or in his iron safe, or buries it

up in the earth, and comes here, and professes to be a Saint, would tie up the hands of every individual in this kingdom, and make them his servants if he could. It is an unrighteous, unhallowed, unholy, covetous principle; it is of the devil and is from beneath. . . .

*I would disfellowship a man who had received liberally from the Lord, and refused to put it out to usury.*²¹

"You know very well," he said on another occasion, "that it is against my doctrine and feelings for men to scrape together the wealth of the world and let it waste and do no good."²²

A factor which should be emphasized is that under the stewardship principle property rights were not only conditional upon use, but also conditional upon *beneficial use*. If property were put to a wasteful or "improper" use, it violated the spirit of guiding religious precepts. In 1853, for example, Brigham Young mentioned in one of his sermons in Salt Lake City that there was a considerable number of people who had lent money to Church missionaries and who, now that the missionaries had returned, were demanding the return of the principal. President Young

²⁰ *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols., London: F. D. Richards, et al., 1854-1884), 1, 252, 253, 255. Italics in original. These statements are found in a sermon delivered by Brigham Young in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, June 5, 1853.

²¹ *Journal History of the L. D. S. Church* (hereafter referred to as *JH*), February 2, 1862. This important source is located in the L. D. S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²² *Utah Pioneer and Apostle, Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family*, ed. Melvin Clarence Merrill (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1937), p. 36.

struck out at this group with great vigor. His answer was that the money had been spent in the Lord's work and that the lender should not expect to get it back. Here are his words:

If an Elder has borrowed from you, and you find he is going to apostatize, then you may tighten the screws upon him; but if he is willing to preach the Gospel, without purse or scrip, it is none of your business what he does with the money he has borrowed from you. The doctrine of brother Joseph is, that not one dollar you possess is your own; and if the Lord wants it to use, let it go, and it is none of your business what He does with it. . . . If you murmur against that Elder, it will prove your damnation. The money was not yours, but the Lord Almighty put it into your hands to see what you would do with it. The gold, the silver, the wheat, the fine flour, buffalo, the deer, and the cattle on a thousand hills, are all His, and He turns them withersoever He will. . . .²³

Another case which had to do with the utilization of property under the direction of Church leadership arose in 1864. A notorious swindler, a Captain Walter Gibson, joined the Mormon Church, allegedly for the sole purpose of mulcting pious Mormons of their wealth. He was discovered and Church authorities brought charges against him. In explaining these charges, Brigham Young stated that "the charge against Walter M. Gibson was not for owning property, or for claiming it, for no one cared how much he had, if he only did good

with it to the poor who had given it, but the charge was his persistent refusal to be dictated by the Priesthood. . . ."²⁴

IV

The second great principle governing the treatment of property in early Utah was that basic natural resources were subject to public rather than private ownership. At the very outset of the Mormon colonization in the Great Basin, Brigham Young laid down the following policy:

There shall be no private ownership of the streams that come out of the canyons, nor the timber that grows on the hills. These belong to the people: all the people.

It was also determined that 'dead timber' should be used as a fuel, thus hoping to foster the growth of timber as its scarcity was the most serious obstacle then in view to the settlement of the valley.²⁵

This policy, which recent study has shown to be desirable in a desert region, protected Utah from the abuses and wastes which characterized other frontier communities in the West. That it was successfully carried out for an extended period was due, as we have seen, to the conversion of the Latter-day Saints to the principle of stewardship with respect to property. In following out this policy, water systems were constructed, owned, and managed as cooperative enterprises. Mineral lands were considered to be

²³ *Deseret News*, June 1, 1864.

²⁴ Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, op. cit., III, 269.

²⁵ *Journal of Discourses*, I, 340-341.

community (or Church) property from the moment of their discovery—usually by Church scouts and exploring parties—and were developed under Church direction. Where grazing lands were scarce, a grant-of-use was required, and the Church sponsored cooperative herding of livestock to eliminate competitive use of the range.²⁶ Permission of Church or civil authorities preceded the erection of mills, the laying out and fencing of land, and the cutting of wood in the canyons and creek bottoms.²⁷

The public (or Church) management of the timber and other resources in the canyons adjacent to the settlements of early Utah illustrates the stewardship principle at work. Timber could not be utilized until a road had been constructed to and through the canyon, so the question arose as to the best method of getting good roads constructed in order to exploit successfully the resources in these canyons. Three possibilities were open. In the first place, public authorities could remain aloof from the whole matter and let private enterprise devise ways and means of getting out the wood. If private property rights were permitted, the canyons would soon become monopolistic in their operation, and therefore subject to all of the abuses which prevailed in timber exploitation in most of western America. If private prop-

erty rights were not permitted there would certainly be wasteful utilization of timber, stone and grass resources, in an impassable and impossible road system, and in much hard feeling between men, some of whom would have gone to great expense to build roads while others (the Johnnie-come-latelies) would have free use of those roads in extracting their own timber.²⁸ The second possibility was for the road to be built by public authorities, with public funds, and each person permitted to go and get wood as he pleased. This method would have involved the necessity of taxing all of the people for the benefit of those who wanted and needed wood. This method was later adopted in Utah, after the communities were sufficiently wealthy to afford it, but was not general during the first twenty years of the colonization of the territory.

A third alternative was open. Public authorities could assign developmental rights to a responsible individual or firm, who would be required to construct and maintain a road and supervise the extraction of timber. In return a toll, regulated by public

²⁶ Compare F. Y. Fox, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land under the Direction of the Mormon Church" (Ph. D. Thesis, Northwestern University, 1932), *passim*.

²⁷ "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1940), 73.

²⁸ This situation prevailed for a brief period in Utah. Some went to considerable expense in building roads to good timber supplies, and others followed along behind and secured equally good timber without helping in the construction or maintenance of the roads. The personal clashes between people who were supposed to be Saints were anything but saintly. As Brigham Young described it, "Elders of Israel will go into the canyons, and curse and swear—damn, and curse your oxen, and swear by Him who created you! . . . Yes, you will rip, and curse, and swear, as bad as any pirates ever did."—*Journal of Discourses*, I, 211.

authorities, could be charged for the use of the road in getting out timber. This method would combine the advantages of requiring timber sales to meet the costs involved in its extraction and having the utilization of rock, grass, and timber resources supervised by responsible persons. After a brief experimentation with purely private exploitation, this system of timber exploitation was adopted by the General Conference of Saints in October 1852, and was proclaimed as the law of the territory.²⁹ Objections were made by some Mormons that this meant the granting of monopoly privileges to a favored few,³⁰ and non-Mormon writers directed vociferous and vituperative invective at Church leadership for this

self-evident (to them) favoritism and betrayal of the public trust.³¹ The forgotten element in this controversy was that whatever grants and privileges were extended, good stewardship and altruism were expected and required.³² If the grant was monopolistic, it was in the nature of a public utility franchise, for it was controlled and limited by strong religious group pressures and subject to the regulation of religious authorities.

V

Property is valued, it must be remembered, because of the income it produces. The regulation of prices or rates charged by private concerns may involve the confiscation of property rights. This eventuality, however, did not bother leaders in early Utah who, without apology, regulated the charges of many types of enterprise in which the public had an interest. The regulation of business income represents the third great principle governing property relationships in early Utah. Civil or ecclesiastical authorities regulated the charges of sawmills, gristmills, slaughterhouses, tolls of road companies and ferries, and other such firms. Four months after the first Mormon colonists arrived in the Salt Lake Valley ecclesiastical authorities appointed a committee "to regulate the price of

²⁹ "Now, I am going to have an expression from this Conference, with regard to the plan that we, as a community, shall adopt; not as a county, not as the Legislature of Utah, not as civil and military officers, but as officers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . We do not own the canyons, but the plan is—let them go into the hands of individuals who will make them easy of access, by paying them for their labor . . . put them in the hands of individuals to make good roads in them, and obtain their pay by taking toll from those who use the roads, at a gate erected for that purpose at the mouth of each canyon . . . If you are in favor of this motion, as Latter-day Saints, signify it by the uplifted hand. (Unanimous.)"

"Let the judges in the county of Great Salt Lake take due notice, and govern themselves accordingly. The same thing I say to the judges of any of the other counties of the territory . . . Now this is my order for the judges to take due notice of; it does not come from the Governor, but from the President of the Church . . ."—Sermon of Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, October 9, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, I, 217-218.

³⁰ *Journal of Discourses*, I, 209-210.

³¹ Typical Gentile criticism of the procedure adopted is found in Mrs. C. V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1866), pp. 134-136.

³² This conclusion is also reached by Dale Morgan in "State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1940), 106n.

grinding and all things worthy of note."³³

Some two years later a mass meeting of the settlers was held on the Temple Block in Salt Lake City to choose a committee to visit the owners of mills in order to "get their toll subject to the order of the bishops."³⁴ The regulatory controls which were imposed reflected the principle that those who undertake to serve the public have a responsibility as stewards to do so with justice and fairness.³⁵ It seemed to be the concept of Mormon leaders that all important enterprises—one may call them public utilities—however owned, were, in a way, tenants of society taken as a whole. Thus, certain obligations were expected of them in return for the privileges they enjoyed. An outstanding expression of this thinking is found in a letter written by Brigham Young in 1952 to James Brown, a prominent Mormon colonizer:

Dear Brother, From various sources I learn that you abuse the privileges granted you by the Legislature in taking toll for the repair and construction of certain bridges and a road therein specified.

I regret to say to you, that you are ruining yourself for the sake of a paltry dollar.

Cease your operations forthwith, and when men ford the stream,

never mouth toll; be reasonable in all your intercourse with travelers.

They complain bitterly, and justly to. . . Remember that privileges are given to use and not abuse and that you not only injure yourself, but discredit the community in which you live. . . .³⁶

A final limitation on private property deserves mention. Property owners were sometimes asked to sacrifice property rights in favor of projects sponsored by Church leaders to facilitate the agricultural and industrial development of the region. In some cases this involved giving up a piece of property when it was needed for a railroad, factory, or canal. In other cases it involved abandonment or forced sale of property when owners were "called" to perform a "mission" for the Church. Thousands of men were called on temporal missions to initiate the production of cotton, flax, iron, lead, coal, and other commodities. Dispatched to various parts of the Basin, these men were called to develop an important resource or to settle a strategic tract of land. Large losses were sometimes sustained as the result of these calls, and no attempt was made to provide monetary compensation for such losses. "Vested interests" was an unknown (or unmentioned) term. Complainants were reminded that to sacrifice was an opportunity rather than a disutility, for it made possible the consummation of the divinely-commissioned task of building the kingdom. John Pulsipher

³³ JH, Nov. 28, 1847.

³⁴ JH, March 25, 1849.

³⁵ The Salt Lake Council voted in November, 1849 that "no persons, owning a saw mill, be allowed more than one third of the lumber for sawing, and wherein they had taken more than $\frac{1}{2}$ to refund the amount to the owners of the logs."—JH, Nov. 24, 1849.

³⁶ JH, July 22, 1852.

was one of the men called in 1861 to accompany the "Cotton Mission" to southern Utah. He wrote of the experience in his diary:

This news was very unexpected to me. Volunteers were called for at conference to go on this mission, but I did not think it meant me, for I had a good home, well satisfied, & had plenty to do. But when the Apostle Geo. A. Smith told me I was selected to go, I saw the importance of the mission to sustain Israel in the Mountains. We had need of a possession in a warmer climate, & I thought I might as well go as anybody. Then the Spirit came upon me so that I felt to thank the Lord that I was worthy to go. . . .

I went right to settling up my business & preparing for the journey. I paid my debts & collected some that was due me, & in a few days was ready for the journey, with two wagons, 6 oxen, 17 head of cattle & 42 sheep. . . . We go with joy, leaving our happy home, which had cost about 4 years hard work & just getting a farm into cultivation that would produce enough in one year to last us half a dozen.³⁷

Another example of the sacrifice of property rights for the supposed economic advancement of the Mormon community was the organization of a Church-sponsored wholesaling concern and department store (Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution) in Salt Lake City in 1868, followed by the establishment of local retailing

cooperatives in every Mormon settlement. The establishment of these concerns necessitated the closing down of many private enterprises which had been functioning up to that time. Proprietors of private firms were called upon to sacrifice their going-concerns in order to assure the local cooperative stores exclusive control over retailing and in order to give complete control over wholesaling to Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. This procedure, while a distinct hardship on the merchants concerned, prevented wasteful duplication of facilities, spread middlemen profits among the people, and promised a better utilization of manpower.³⁸

VI

The distinguished French sociologist, Letourneau, wrote: "The system of property is the mainspring of all social life. It should not therefore be touched except with extreme prudence; but it cannot be questioned that society has the right to modify it in its own general interests."³⁹ Early Utah represents a rare instance of group limitation of the rights of private property. These limitations were largely the result of the counsel of the Church leaders who, along with Church members, were imbued with the doctrine of stewardship laid down by Joseph Smith in 1831. As popula-

³⁷ An excellent study of the cooperative movement is found in Arden B. Olsen, "History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation in Utah" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1936).

³⁸ Charles Letourneau, *Property: Its Origin and Development* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 378.

³⁹ Juanita Brooks, "Introduction to the Journal of John Pulsipher," *Utah Humanities Review*, II (1948), 352.

tion grew, causing resources to become relatively more scarce, as the railroad and mining development brought thousands of laborers and capitalists who "knew not Joseph," and as Mormon settlers dispersed throughout the region into non-Mormon settlements, the concept of property as a stewardship lost much of its efficacy. The principle remained, but it became more and more impotent in regulating the social affairs of Mormon country. Today there is little difference between the economic institutions of Utah and those of other parts of the nation.⁴⁰ The age of Mormon experimentation with property rights came to an end about 1900—a date which marks the end of the frontier in Utah, and which, in the remainder of the United States, presaged the failure of many of the laissez-faire institutions which had set the Mormon commonwealth apart. In failing to emphasize the stewardship principle, recent L.D.S. leaders may be supposed to have recognized that the increase in government intervention in this field since 1900

has rendered such localized arrangements as those in existence in early Utah unnecessary and superfluous.

The passing of two generations, and recent studies of western institutions placing emphasis on the absoluteness of private property and the ruggedness of the prevailing individualism, make it difficult, even for some Mormons, to believe that thousands of men and women settled a part of the wild and woolly West operating under instructions that group welfare must be exalted above individual freedom and indulgence.

The order of Zion when carried out [according to the charge given to one group] will be that all men should act in the interest of and for the welfare of Zion, and individualism, private speculation and covetousness will be avoided, and that all act in the interest of all and for the welfare of the whole community.⁴¹

It was this philosophy which made the institution of private property in early Utah unique and meritorious.

⁴⁰ Joseph A. Geddes, *Institution Building in Utah* (Logan, Utah: The Faculty Association, Utah State Agricultural College, 1949).

⁴¹ Commission, dated February 20, 1883, of President John Taylor and Joseph F. Smith to Christopher Layton, who was appointed head of the San Pedro and Gila Valley settlers in Arizona.—J. H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona* (Phoenix, 1921), p. 261.

The Relationship of Current Net Income to the Socioeconomic Status of Southern Farm Families*

By Mary Jordan Harris† and Josephine Staab††

ABSTRACT

Many people have been interested in using Sewell's Farm Family Socio-economic Status Scale as a substitute for income as an index for classifying families into economic groups. This interest was motivated by the fact that ratings on the socioeconomic scale can be more easily obtained, summarized and analyzed than can income data.

A statistical analysis of current net income and socioeconomic data collected simultaneously in the Southern Regional Food Consumption Study was made to determine their relationship, in order to determine how well the scale scores can predict the income of a farm family. The analysis indicated that current net income and socioeconomic scores are significantly correlated, but the relationship is not great enough for the socio-economic score of a farm family to be used to predict its current net income with any degree of accuracy.

Can the Sewell's Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale be used to predict the current net income of individual farm families? (1) The answer to this question was sought through a statistical analysis of income and socioeconomic data collected simultaneously in the Southern Regional Food Consumption Study.

The importance of income as an index for classifying families into economic groups and the problems associated with obtaining an accurate account of the farm family's income

have long been recognized by social and economic research workers. Variations in the definition of the farm family's income further complicate the problem. Since annual or current net income is the type of income frequently used for classifying families, the development of a method for estimating the current net income of a farm family, which would involve a minimum in time and money costs, would be generally useful in future research.

A socioeconomic status scale was felt to be a device that could be used for estimating current income. No previous study of this particular relationship has been reported, but many people have been interested in using the scale as an income predictor. Sociologists have recognized that income is one of the important factors in determining socioeconomic status, and that it is also associated with the other factors, material possessions, cultural possessions and community

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participation, which are included in the definition of socioeconomic status. It is also generally accepted that ratings on a socioeconomic scale can be more easily obtained, summarized and analyzed than can income data. Hence, the relationship between socioeconomic score and current net income was investigated.

Sewell's Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale is the result of his study . . . "to construct and standardize a simple scale that will give a quantitative expression to the nature and extent of the variations existing in the socioeconomic status of Oklahoma farm families."¹ The definition of socioeconomic status used in his study is that proposed by F. Stuart Chapin in *The Measurement of Social Status*: . . . "The position that an individual or family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions and participation in the group activities of the community."² The scale was standardized for Oklahoma open country white farm families, but it is considered valid for use in other areas as long as conditions are similar to those in Oklahoma.³

The short form of the Sewell scale was used in this study. (2) It consists

¹ *The Construction and Standardization of A Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³ It is assumed that Sewell's socioeconomic scale is valid for the Southern Region, and no attempt to standardize or test its differentiating powers except in relation to income was made in the study being reported.

of fourteen items, which are: construction of house, water piped into house, lighting facilities, power washer, refrigerator, radio, telephone, automobile (other than truck), family takes daily newspaper, room-person ratio, husband attends church or Sunday school, wife attends church or Sunday school, husband's education, and wife's education.⁴ Each item is weighted according to its percentage of occurrence, and the total of the fourteen weights gives a quantitative measure of the socioeconomic status of a farm family.

The factor, current net income, used in this study is defined as the sum of annual net receipts from the following: (a) farm operation adjusted for inventory change, for expense of food for farm help, for family use of electricity and automobile, and for repairs on family dwelling, and exclusive of value of food obtained without direct expense; (b) farm wages and salaries; (c) non-farm wages, salaries, and profits; (d) all other nonfarm income, except non-recurrent income such as inheritances and terminal-leave allowances.

Complete income data for the year 1947 and socioeconomic ratings were obtained from 909 farm families interviewed for the Southern Regional Farm Family Food Consumption Study. Seven hundred and twenty-one of the families participated in the

⁴ Contributions of the Southern Region Cooperative Project on Farm Family Food Consumption (S4) include rearrangement of items on the scale, expansion of directions for use, and clarification of the definitions for the items composing the scale. Scale and directions for use are reproduced in (3).

Food Record Study and 188 in the Food List Study. (3) The farming areas included in the study were the flue-cured tobacco areas of South Carolina and Virginia, the delta cotton areas of Mississippi and Arkansas and the general farming mountain area of East Tennessee. The schedules were obtained from farm families who lived in open country areas and had both a husband and a wife and at least one child between the ages of 2 and 18 living at home. All race-tenure classes were represented. Except for race, the families from whom the data were obtained for this study conform to the family requirements outlined by Sewell.⁵ No attempt was made to establish the validity or reliability of the scale under conditions of use which deviated from those pertaining in Oklahoma at the time the scale was standardized.

The relationship between socioeconomic status score and current net income was determined by the method of regression and correlation. (4) The prediction equation is of the form

$$y' = y' + b(x - x')$$

where y' is the predicted value of income for any corresponding socioeconomic value assigned to x , x' and y' are the means of x and y respectively, and b is the average change in income which is associated with a unit change socioeconomic status score.

The regression analysis was made of the data, showing a significant positive linear relationship between socioeconomic status score and net income. The prediction equation is

$$y' = 1448 + 67(x - 57)$$

The closeness of the relationship is measured by the correlation coefficient r . In this case, r is equal to 0.4696, a value significantly different from zero, with 907 degrees of freedom. The fraction of the variation accounted for by regression is equal to 0.2205 (r^2); this means that only 22 per cent of the variation of net income was accounted for by the regression of net income on socioeconomic score.

For even a fair prediction of individual values of current income, at least 50 per cent ($r^2 = .50$) of the variance should be accounted for by the socioeconomic score.

To minimize the effect of a few extremely large values of income, that contributed approximately one-fourth of the total uncorrected sum of squares, the transformation $z = \log(y + 1000)$ was used. The correlation of z with x was then even less than the correlation before the transformation. The effect of the large values was materially reduced but the logarithmic scale tended to scatter the smaller points.

An attempt was also made to reduce the effect of the overall variation by computing a separate regression line for each race-tenure group. By the analysis of variance, significant differences were shown between the means of the race-tenure groups and between the slopes of the regression lines of the race-tenure groups. Only the regressions for the white-owner and white-sharecropper groups give correlation coefficients that are highly significantly different from zero. Table 1 gives in tabular form the evidence for these statements. Most

⁵ Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF 909 FARM FAMILIES, SHOWING THE MEANS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCORE AND NET INCOME, THE SLOPES (b) OF THE REGRESSION LINE AND THE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT (r), BY RACE-TENURE CLASSES.

Race-Tenure Classes	No. in Classes	S.E. Mean Score	Net Mean Income (\$)	b	r
Total.....	909	57	1448	67.2**	.4696**
White—Owners.....	245	67	2246	81.8**	.3945**
Renters.....	78	60	2018	36.1*	.2721*
Sharecroppers..	100	56	1225	36.7**	.3811**
Negro—Owners.....	72	56	1271	27.3	.2203
Renters.....	90	52	1086	28.2	.2060
Sharecroppers..	301	51	899	25.2*	.2026*
All Others.....	23	52	1125		
Between Groups.....	6 groups			87.3**	.9743**

** Significant at the 1 per cent level.

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

of the overall correlation can be accounted for by the correlation within two of the race-tenure groups and the tie-up between race-tenure groups, income and socioeconomic score as shown by the correlation ($r = .9743$) of income and socioeconomic score between groups.

These findings would lead one to believe that in predicting income for each race-tenure group, the weights for the different items on the socioeconomic scale should not be the same in each group; and that the validity of the scale for the different race-tenure groups should be investigated.⁶ At least, in some of the race-tenure groups in the Southern Region there is little or no relationship between current net income and the socioeconomic status as indicated by the Sewell scale.

⁶ The scale was originally validated for white farm families only. In his article "Re-standardization of Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 302-310, Sewell found that the scale was not sufficiently discriminating for the Negro farm families of Louisiana.

The relationship of income with each item in the socioeconomic scale was computed within each race-tenure group. Two items of the scale (wife's and husband's attendance at church or Sunday school) are uncorrelated with income for all race-tenure groups. The items, construction of house, telephone, room-person ratio and wife's education, are correlated with income in only the white-owner group.

The item, husband's education, is correlated with income for white owners and white sharecroppers, but uncorrelated for the other race-tenure groups. This can be explained by the fact that most of the males in the other race-tenure groups fall into the uncompleted elementary school category.

By breaking down the uncompleted elementary category, and by rescaling the grades in proportion to the mean net income for each grade, the correlation of husband's education with income is then significant for Negro

sharecroppers. These scores, of course, are valid for this study only, but they demonstrate the need for a finer breakdown in education if the scale is to be of general usefulness for all race-tenure groups in the Southern Region.

The socioeconomic items of importance for the white-owner group are: construction of house, water piped into house, power washer, automobile, daily newspaper, lighting facilities, refrigerator, room-person ratio and husband's education. It is only in the white-owner group that more than four or five of the items, which make up the socioeconomic scale, are significantly correlated with income.

In view of this fact, an effort was made to try to improve the overall correlation in the white-owner group. A scale was made using only the six items in the original socioeconomic scale that were most highly correlated with income, namely: water piped into house, automobile, lighting facilities, refrigerator, power washer and husband's education. The relative weights of these items were determined by the use of multiple regression analysis. The prediction equation would be

$$y' = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + \dots + b_6x_6$$

where y' is an estimated value of income, $x_i = 0$ or 1 according to whether a family possesses a specified item or not, and b_i indicated the average amount of change in income associated with a unit change in x_i , holding the other x 's constant. Only 22 per cent of the variation of net income *within* the white-owner group is ac-

counted for by regression of net income on these six items. While this is a definite improvement over the 16 per cent of the variation of net income *within* the white-owner group accounted for by regression of net income on the total socioeconomic score, the correlation is not great enough for prediction purposes.

On the basis of the data obtained from the 721 families participating in the Food Record Study, the analysis was extended to determine the effects of a change in the analysis unit and in the definition of income on the relationship of income and socioeconomic status. Current net income per person shows a greater correlation ($r = .4881$) with socioeconomic status than current net income per family ($r = .4722$), the analysis unit on which all other correlations were made. Total net income per family, which included current net income plus the value of food derived from the farm or received as pay, gift or relief, has even a greater correlation with socioeconomic status score ($r = .5125$) than either current net income per family or current net income per person. However, the increase in correlation is not of enough magnitude to be of any significance to the estimation of annual income, but it does indicate that factors other than money income should be considered when the socioeconomic status of a farm family is examined. A definition of income different from any of those used in this analysis, such as real income which includes both the goods and services purchased with money income and those obtained in other

ways, may show the greatest relationship since most of the items on the socioeconomic scale represent an accumulation of wealth over a period of years.

The results of this study indicate that current net income and socioeconomic scores are significantly correlated, but the relationship cannot be considered great enough to use the score as a means of predicting current net income with any degree of accuracy.¹

It is reasonable to believe that a scale could be constructed, using the statistical techniques of correlation and regression, that would express the nature and extent of variation of current net income of farm families, but the components of the scale would have to reflect the variability of a yearly income more than the fourteen inventory items of Sewell's present Socioeconomic Scale.

¹ For a detailed study of the scale, its definition and usefulness as a means of socioeconomic status, see Reference (1).

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Indigenous Fertility in the Farm Population of Wisconsin, 1848-1948

By George W. Hill† and James D. Tarver††

ABSTRACT

Research in "indigenous fertility" of farm families has been very limited because of the difficulty of obtaining a sample of farm couples who were reared on the farm and who, subsequently, spent their married life on the farm, and the difficulty of securing such a continuing sample of farm families throughout several generations. This paper presents an analysis of indigenous fertility of a sample of 305 farm families and their survivors through ensuing generations, including the present farm owners. Out of a total of 910 Wisconsin century farms, 305 have been handed down to a direct lineal descendant (a son or daughter) in each generation from 1848 to 1948. The size of the farm family has declined each succeeding generation. The data suggest that the decline in fertility began to slow down after 1900 and that the size of farm families is becoming somewhat stabilized.

Both systematic research and common-sense observations of the rural sociologist have long convinced him that the fertility of the American farm population has been higher than that of the urban; likewise, that the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries were marked by a decline in the fertility of both population groups. Since most of the data which have been accessible for study have come from the census, the observations and conclusions of the student have been subject to the well-known limitations of census data.¹ One of the limiting factors which has made it difficult to determine precise relationships in the fertility trends, both within the farm population and between it and the urban population

has been the phenomenon of migration. In a recent article, T. J. Woofter suggested the use of the concept "indigenous fertility" to rule out the interference of migration. He defined "indigenous fertility" as being "the behavior (fertility) of couples who were reared either in the city or on the farm and who, subsequently spent their married life in the same environment."²

The severe restrictions imposed by the concept of indigenous fertility obviously do not permit extensive research in the area, but we have recently gathered data in Wisconsin which permit us to make some observations concerning the trend in the indigenous fertility of our farm population. Wisconsin celebrated its one hundredth year of statehood in 1948 and, as part of the celebration, century farm certificates were awarded to all farm families who could demonstrate

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¹ cf. George W. Hill and Douglas G. Marshall, "Reproduction and Replacement of Farm Population and Agricultural Policy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXIX (May, 1947), 457-474.

² T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII (March, 1948), 3-4.

that their farms had been handed down to them through descendants of the first owners throughout the 100 year span of time. Nine hundred and ten farm families qualified for century farm certificates.

Not all of the 910 century farms have been handed down to the present owners through the direct offspring of the previous owners. Some owners have been childless; in other cases children did not choose to farm. Relatives other-than-children, and often relatives acquired through marriage have been employed as vehicles in the transmission process. Consequently, only 305 of the 910 farms have been continuously operated by each succeeding generation with all owners having completed families.³ These 305 farms have been transferred to either a son or a daughter in each conveyance of ownership.

Since all previous owners of the 305 farms had to beget children in order to transfer the farms to their own children, all present owners who are childless have been omitted from our comparative tabulations. Out of the 605 owners that were omitted, and who have completed families, 13.7 per cent are childless; the other 86.3 per cent were eliminated because of reasons given above. As a result, this is a study of the indigenous fertility of completed farm families who had at least one child in each generation. The average size of the farm families

in each generation is therefore larger than would be the case if childless farm couples were included as well.

The first generation owners of the 305 farms acquired title between the years 1834 and 1848. Most of the farms are located in the extreme southern two tiers of counties of the state and in and contiguous to Milwaukee County, which is the general area that was settled by immigrants and early American migrants during the above period. Present owners of the century farms are the children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and in one case the great-great-grandchild of the first owners. Title to 33 of the 305 farms are held by second generation owners, 232 by the third generation, 39 by the fourth generation, and only one by a fifth generation owner.

Table 1 shows the size of completed families for each generation of farm owners. The mean size for the first generation is 5.60 children; second generation, 4.99 children; third generation, 3.45 children; fourth generation, 3.08 children; and only one fifth generation owner has a completed family. He has two children.⁴ The critical ratios between the first and second generation owners and between the second and third generation are clearly significant; whereas the ratio between the third and fourth is not so clear.

Table 1 demonstrates that the size of the farm family has declined each succeeding generation and that the sharpest decline took place during the

³ A completed family, as defined here, is one in which the husband is 50 years of age or over. In those cases where age of husband was not reported, the family was counted as completed if the wife were 45 years of age or over.

⁴ Still births are excluded in all generations.

TABLE 1. SIZE OF COMPLETED GENERATION FARM OWNER FAMILIES AMONG WISCONSIN CENTURY FARM FAMILIES.

Number of children per family	Number of families in each generation				
	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Fourth generation	Fifth generation
1	23	15	35	8	
2	18	39	65	11	1
3	37	54	66	9	
4	38	41	42	2	
5	43	43	28	4	
6	34	36	15	4	
7	37	23	10	2	
8	24	19	4		
9	25	13	5		
10	12	8	2		
11	6	10	0		
12	5	1	0		
13	0	2	1		
14	0	1	0		
15	2	0	0		
16	1	0	0		
Total	305	305	273	40	1
Means	5.60	4.99	3.45	3.08	2.0
C. R.	2.77	8.11	1.13		

nineteenth and the very early part of the twentieth centuries. Insofar as Wisconsin is concerned the social and economic factors which are thought to influence reproductive behavior were in a rapid state of flux during the first three quarters of its century of existence, but with the leveling off in these factors in recent decades there appears to be a corresponding stability that is being reached in the fertility behavior. Table 2 demonstrates the decline more precisely. There are 33

farms owned by the second generation, and while there were 6.94 children per family born to the parents of these owners, the present owners have only 4.51 children per family. A similar decline in the size of each subsequent generation is observed in those farm families who are third, fourth, and fifth generation owners. A further comparison illustrates the decline in fertility. The mean size of family of the present owners of the 305 farms is 3.48. The 33 present

TABLE 2. MEAN SIZE OF FAMILIES BY GENERATIONS.

Present owners	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Fourth generation	Fifth generation
33 Second generation families	6.94	4.51			
232 Third generation families	5.45	5.10	3.40		
39 Fourth generation families	5.26	4.33	3.72	3.08	
1 Fifth generation family	10.00	9.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
305	5.60	4.99	3.45	3.08	2.00

farm owners who are the first descendants of the original owners, have an average of 4.51 children; whereas the third generation has an average of 3.40 children, and the fourth generation has 3.08 (Table 2). Sociologically, the determinants which influenced the second generation owners to have an average of 4.51 children were operative three or four, and sometimes, five decades earlier.

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief analysis is that the size of the indigenous farm family has definitely diminished during the past century. If comparable data were

available for urban families then a comparison could be made concerning the trend in the indigenous fertility of the two groups. The complete disappearance of the extremely large farm family should be of interest to the sociologist interested in family relationships. Play groups of the farm families a century ago were large when 25 per cent of the families had eight or more children. A generation later this percentage was reduced to 18, and still later to four per cent. Few, if any, families will be found in the present generation that will have as many as eight children.

Displaced Persons in the Deep South*

By Rudolf Heberle†

ABSTRACT

The resettlement of displaced persons from Eastern Europe on sugar and cotton plantations in Louisiana and Mississippi presents serious problems of accommodation and adjustment. This paper reports the findings of a study made during the first year of the program. It shows the demographic characteristics of DP's scheduled for the two states and describes their conditions of work and living. The conclusion is drawn that a considerable proportion of the DP's appeared to be well accommodated. The success of their resettlement is believed to be largely due to the fact that mechanization and diversification of agriculture in the region result in a demand for that kind of labor which the DP's represent.

I. Introduction

The DP program represents a new phase in immigration to the United States. For the first time we have a policy of regulated immigration. We

select from the DP's in Europe those who appear to be most useful to this country, and we attempt to direct the selected immigrants to localities where jobs are waiting for them.

For the South, the DP program created quite new problems. The great bulk of the DP's who came to the United States are natives of Eastern

* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, May, 1951.

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Europe.¹ Previous immigration from that area of Europe to the South had been almost negligible, even in Louisiana. In 1940 the two states of Louisiana and Mississippi contained less than 1,000 natives of the three main countries of origin of Displaced Persons; in both states together were about 6,700 persons whose mother tongue was or had been an Eastern European language. Very likely a large proportion of these were Jewish people; but there lived along the Gulf Coast several hundred Slovenian fishermen and citrus growers from what is now the Adriatic Coast of Yugoslavia, and a large group of Hungarians in the strawberry area north of Lake Pontchartrain. (Tables 2 and 2a).

The DP program was to bring, for the first time, large numbers of Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians to the Deep South. The question arose: how would these Eastern Europeans be received by the local people, and how would they adjust themselves in a region where they had scarcely any kin and countrymen?

Moreover, it was announced that the new immigrants would be resettled on cotton plantations in Mississippi and North Louisiana and on sugar plantations in South Louisiana and in fact, the majority of DP's arriving in these states were resettled

in the plantation areas. Anybody familiar with the social and cultural background of the DP's could foresee that their adjustment to the plantation society of the Lower Mississippi Valley would not be a painless process.

Estonia and Latvia had undergone an agrarian revolution in the years after World War I. The large estates owned by a German ruling class were expropriated and divided among the Latvian and Estonian peasants; the same process occurred in Lithuania where the Polish landowners were expropriated and a broad class of Lithuanian family-farmers came into existence.

Although there was no radical land reform in Poland, it could be assumed that many of the Polish DP's would come from family farms. This proved to be true, especially in the case of the Ukrainians from Southeastern Poland.

How would these people adjust themselves to the plantation economy and to the bi-racial society of a subtropical country? Even those among the Poles who had been working as wage laborers on large estates in Poland or Germany were certainly not accustomed to the share-cropper system nor to the housing standards of colored plantation workers. How would they re-act to the "furnish" system, to working in gangs, eventually side by side with Negroes; how would they adjust to the climate, to the food, to the relative isolation of plantation life? These considerations led the author of this paper to undertake a study of the DP's in the two

¹The term *Displaced Persons* (DP) is used throughout this study, because the immigrants to the states of Louisiana and Mississippi under the Displaced Persons Act at the time of the study were practically all Displaced Persons in the technical sense; it is possible that among the more recent arrivals have been some expellees of German ethnic origin.

states, which was carried out largely by Mr. Dudley S. Hall as a thesis for the Master of Arts degree under the auspices of the *Institute of Population Research* in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University.

The plans for this study had scarcely been laid when a great deal of unfavorable publicity was given in the press to the conditions under which the new immigrants were living and working. Some clergymen criticized the conditions severely, representatives of Polish and Lithuanian organizations descended upon the plantations and in some cases induced entire colonies of DP's to leave. For a while it looked as if the program were doomed to complete failure in this region.

In reading the newspaper reports of that time one cannot escape the conclusion that many mistakes had been made during the first months of the program's operation. The screening had not always been effective so that people with little or no experience in farm work came along with *bona fide* agricultural workers. The sense of responsibility was not too strongly developed among the first arrivals, many of whom had no intention to stay in the South and joined their countrymen in the East and Middlewest at the first opportunity. Some of the planters and managers of large plantations, on the other hand, seem to have believed they could offer the newcomers the same conditions of housing and employment which they were accustomed to give their Negro workers. Possibly this belief arose from the fact that German prisoners

of war had been housed in rather primitive fashion on plantations and yet proved to be good and willing workers.

In some cases there may have been intentional and malevolent exploitation, although it seems more likely that ignorance of the DP's cultural and social background was the most frequent reason for inadequate treatment.

In any case, all the parties involved learned their lesson quickly: the screening improved, the voluntary agencies issued instructions to individual sponsors, and the latter themselves saw soon that Poles and Latvians could not be treated like native labor, and the DP's arriving later had perhaps a more realistic mental image of their new home than the early arrivals.

From the outset it was clear that the study would have to be restricted to the objective factors which might affect and influence adjustment and to the objective conditions of life and work among the DP's.

A study of the psychological adjustment processes, of attitudes and of changes in values and norms of conduct could not be undertaken at this time and with the resources at our disposal.

II. Demographic Analysis

1. Methodological Difficulties

The first question to be investigated was: whether the incoming groups of new immigrants would show any demographic characteristics which might affect their adjustment in the

new social and cultural environment. Theoretically, the assimilation of immigrants is most easy for the very young and most difficult for the very old; however, an immigrant group consisting only of children—orphans, for example—would obviously present serious difficulties of adjustment; an immigrant group consisting mainly of single men, as we know from past experiences, will be faced with special adjustment problems, and so forth.

All demographic characteristics which might have bearing on cultural differences and social distance between immigrants and natives were regarded as relevant. Data on these characteristics were obtained from the "nominal rolls" which the United States Displaced Persons Commission was kind enough to provide. From these lists were taken the names of persons whose destination, as given in the rolls, was in Louisiana or Mississippi. We expected to interview as many of these individuals as possible; we thought, however, that at least six months should have passed since their arrival before they could be approached with prospect of satisfactory results. As we planned to begin interviewing in the spring of 1950, we stopped taking cases from the rolls by the end of September, 1949. By this time we had covered about 2,000 cases, fairly evenly divided between Louisiana and Mississippi. When the interviews began, we discovered that many of the individuals covered by our data were no longer in the region, or had never arrived. This, we feared at first, would invalidate the entire

demographic analysis. Fortunately we were able to obtain from the Louisiana Displaced Persons Commission data covering "confirmed" arrivals through March, 1950. The demographic structure of this universe proved to be similar enough to the nominal roll cases to justify the use of the latter—as far as proportions or percentages are concerned. More recently we obtained from the same source data on all scheduled arrivals from 1949 through March, 1951, which will be used to some extent in this paper.

It should be stated that we have no exact information about the number of DP's actually living in the two states at the present time.² On the basis of a very rough estimate it is possible that two-thirds of the scheduled DP's actually stayed in the two states; a more conservative estimate would be about 60 per cent.

2. *Demographic Characteristics*

By the end of September, 1949, about 2,000 DP's had been directed for resettlement to the states of Louisiana and Mississippi. They came from thirteen countries in Europe; however, nine-tenths came from the three countries of Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania (Tables 1 and 1a). In evaluating these data which refer to citizenship, it should be recalled that each Eastern European state had its national minorities. These were Rus-

² No check-up on the DP's could be carried out, partly because the administrative machinery was lacking and partly because all agencies concerned felt that the DP's should be "left alone" in order not to disturb their adjustment.

TABLE 1. DISPLACED PERSONS IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI BY CITIZENSHIP, SEPTEMBER, 1949.

	Total		Louisiana		Mississippi	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	2039	100.00	1078	100.00	961	100.00
Poland	893	43.8	751	69.66	142	14.77
Latvia	733	35.9	42	11.78	691	71.90
Lithuania	197	9.7	127	3.89	70	7.28
Other	216	10.6	158	14.65	58	6.03

TABLE 1(a). DISPLACED PERSONS IN LOUISIANA BY CITIZENSHIP, 1949 AND 1951.

	1949		1951	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	1078	100.00	2843*	100.00
Polish	751	69.66	1951	68.62
Lithuanian	127	11.78	233	8.19
Latvian	42	3.89	164	5.76
Other Nationalities and Stateless	158	14.65	495	17.44

* 278 persons of unknown nationality not included.

sians and Lithuanians in Latvia, Latvians in Lithuania, Lithuanians in Poland, Poles in Lithuania, and so forth; German minorities existed in all countries of Eastern Europe. From scrutinizing the family names on the nominal rolls we gained the impression that the majority of the DP's in the two states belong to the predominating ethnic groups in their country of origin so that citizenship and nationality are in most cases identical; the major exceptions are the Ukrainians from Galicia who appear in our statistics as Poles. This is sociologically significant because of the difference in languages and because of the animosity between the two nationalities.

The second important characteristic is *religion*. In Eastern Europe, religious and ethnic differentiations coincide to a large extent, but not without considerable overlapping. Thus

the majority of Poles and Lithuanians are Roman Catholics, although there were Protestants and Greek Orthodox in both countries; the Latvians are predominantly Lutherans, although Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics existed in Latvia; finally in all Eastern European countries there lived a numerous and sociologically important Jewish population. Since persons of Jewish faith were very rare among the DP's destined for resettlement in Louisiana and Mississippi—only 30 out of 2,039—during the period covered, they are not considered separately in this study.

Since the socio-cultural distance between immigrants and natives can be considerably reduced if both groups belong to the same church, it is fortunate that the three nationality groups were so distributed in the two states that Catholic South Louisiana (French Louisiana) received mainly

Catholic Poles and Ukrainians while Protestant Mississippi received mainly Lutheran Latvians (Table 3).

Contrary to the distribution in the two states of the older immigration from Eastern European countries, the majority of the displaced persons were resettled in rural areas (Table 4). This is the result of the preference given to agricultural workers, a fact which will be discussed later. However, their distribution by residence was not typical for the entire mass of DP's admitted to the United States

of America during the first nine months. By the end of 1949 about 122,000 DP's had been resettled, 53 per cent of them in cities of 100,000 or over, 24 per cent in other urban areas, and only 23 per cent in rural areas.

Within the two states the largest concentrations of DP's are found in the plantation areas of the Mississippi and Red River Valleys. In Louisiana the majority are settled in the sugar cane area, in Mississippi in the cotton area of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta

TABLE 2. FOREIGN BORN WHITE IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI BY REGION OF ORIGIN, 1940

	Total		Louisiana		Mississippi	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	33,260	100.00	27,272	100.00	5,988	100.00
Main D.P. Countries	976	2.93	673	2.46	303	5.06
Poland	797	2.39	581	2.13	216	3.60
Lithuania	125	.37	68	.24	57	.95
Latvia	54	.16	24	.08	30	.50
Other Eastern European Countries	3,033	9.11	2,243	8.22	790	13.19
Russia	1,602	4.81	1,190	4.36	412	6.88
All Other Countries	27,649	83.12	23,166	84.94	4,483	74.86

TABLE 2(a). WHITE POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE, 1940.

	Total		Louisiana		Mississippi	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	2,617,580	100.0	1,512,940	100.0	1,104,640	100.0
Non-English	433,320	16.6	387,740	25.6	45,580	4.1
Polish	840		660		180	
Czech	620		540		80	
Slovak	160		100		60	
Hungarian	980		880		100	
Slovenian	880		640		240	
Russian	1,240		900		340	
Ukrainian	—		—		—	
Lithuanian	160		120		40	
Yiddish	1,820		1,280		540	
Other	426,620	16.3	382,620	25.3	44,000	3.9
English	2,184,260	83.4	1,125,200	74.4	1,059,060	95.9

Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Population, Nativity and Parentage, Mother Tongue, Table 21.

TABLE 3. DISPLACED PERSONS IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI BY RELIGION AND CITIZENSHIP, 1949.

	Catholic and Orthodox		Protestant and Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Louisiana	1,006	93.3	72	6.7
Polish	718	95.6	33	4.4
Latvian	40	95.2	2	4.8
Lithuanian	122	96.0	5	4.0
Others	126	79.7	32	20.3
Mississippi	308	32.0	653	68.0
Polish	125	88.0	17	12.0
Latvian	88	12.7	603	87.3
Lithuanian	65	92.9	5	7.1
Others	30	51.7	28	48.3

north of Vicksburg. In Louisiana, a considerable number of DP's have been placed in the rice and mixed farming areas west of the Mississippi. Much smaller numbers have been resettled in the upland areas of the two states where family farmers predominate. This may be regarded as unfortunate, but is easy to understand. Planters most likely were more willing to experiment with DP's and the voluntary agencies probably found it simpler to get job assurances from a few planters than from a large number of small farmers. Besides, there had been considerable migration of Negroes from plantation areas.

More recent data for Louisiana indicate no significant changes in this pattern of geographical distribution (Table 4).

The factors next in importance for the immigrants' adjustment chances are the *sex and age* distribution. It is a well-known fact that in unregulated international migration the younger adult age groups predominate and that as a rule there is an excess of men among immigrants. This was not the case among the DP's. In both states, males and females were evenly balanced, the sex ratio being almost exactly 100.0. This was not the typical sex ratio for all DP's admitted to the United States: among those admitted through December, 1950, it was 117.5.

However, there was a slight shortage of men in the age groups 15 to 35 and an excess of men in the age groups 40 to 59 (Table 5). More recent data for Louisiana covering all arrivals through March, 1951 indicate

TABLE 4. LOCATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN LOUISIANA.

	Scheduled Arrivals through Sept., 1949		Confirmed Arrivals through March, 1950	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	1,078	100.0	1,045	100.0
Six urban parishes	283	26.2	277	26.5
Rural parishes in French Louisiana	657	61.1	604	58.0
Other rural parishes	138	12.7	164	15.5

only slight changes in the age distribution (Table 6).

DP's in contrast to previous immigrant groups comprise a larger proportion of dependent children and also of older persons who are near the end of their occupational productivity. On the other hand, compared with the native white population in the two states the DP's comprise a larger proportion of persons in the economically productive age groups of 25 to 54 years of age; only the age groups 15 to 25 and 55 and over are smaller; the former due to the effects of war and forced labor, the latter due to screening. The fertility ratio—children below 5 years of age per 1,000 women 15 to 44 years of age—was 440, or slightly above that for native whites

in Louisiana and Mississippi in 1940 which was 385.

Economically, the present age composition of the DP's in the two states is less favorable than that of previous immigrants, but more favorable than that of the native white population, insofar as the DP population contains a higher proportion of persons in the productive age classes.

Sociologically significant is that about one-fourth of the new immigrants were 40 years or over; these will have comparatively poor chances of assimilation, though they may accommodate themselves quite well, particularly if living in family groups.

The most striking fact, again by way of contrast to earlier immigrants, is that more than seven out of every

TABLE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF D.P.'S IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI WITH AGE-SPECIFIC SEX RATIOS, 1949.

Age	Total		Male		Female		Sex Ratio
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Total	2,039	100.00	1,024	100.00	1,015	100.00	100.9
0-4	240	11.77	113	11.03	129	12.52	88.9
5-9	170	8.33	91	8.88	79	7.79	115.2
10-14	177	8.68	88	8.59	89	8.77	98.9
15-19	159	7.79	89	8.69	70	6.90	127.1
20-24	165	8.09	72	7.03	93	9.17	77.4
25-29	232	11.37	96	9.37	136	13.41	70.6
30-34	133	6.52	77	7.51	56	5.52	137.5
35-39	204	10.00	98	9.57	106	10.45	92.5
40-44	189	9.26	105	10.25	84	8.28	125.0
45-49	184	9.02	100	9.76	84	8.28	119.0
50-54	100	4.90*	57	5.56	43	4.24	132.6
55-59	37	1.81	23	2.24	14	1.38	164.2
60-64	20	.98	10	.97	10	.98	100.0
65 and above	29	1.42	5	.48	24	2.36	21.0

TABLE 6. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF D.P.'S IN LOUISIANA, 1949, 1950, 1951.

	Scheduled Arrivals through Sept., 1949 Per Cent	Confirmed Arrivals through March, 1950 Per Cent	All Scheduled Arrivals through March, 1951 Per Cent
Below 18	32.6	37.9	37.33
18-39	40.0	39.1	40.38
40-	27.4	23.0	22.28

TABLE 7. MARITAL STATUS OF D.P.'S IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI BY AGE, 1949.

Age	Single		Married		Widowed/Divorced	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
15-19	158	99.4	1	.6	—	—
20-24	80	48.5	84	50.9	1	.6
25-29	33	14.2	198	85.3	1	.4
30-34	18	13.5	113	84.9	2	1.6
35-39	11	5.4	189	92.6	4	2.0
40-44	15	7.9	164	86.8	10	5.3
45-49	13	7.1	156	84.8	15	8.1
50-54	4	4.0	80	80.0	16	16.0
55-59	3	8.1	28	75.7	6	16.2
60-64	—	—	17	85.0	3	15.0
65 and above ..	—	—	7	24.1	22	75.9
Total	335	23.1	1,037	71.4	80	5.5

ten DP's fifteen years of age or over were married (Table 7). The proportion of married persons is high also in comparison with the native white population.

Furthermore, we found that nine-tenths of the DP's scheduled to arrive by the end of September, 1949, were travelling as members of families. The composition and size of these families is given in Table 8. Again, these findings are in agreement with recent data obtained from the Louisiana Commission, both regarding size of families and proportion of persons being members of family groups

(91.34 per cent) (Table 9). It is likely that most of the DP families have not yet reached their full size.

The sociological significance of the marital status structure of the DP group is difficult to appraise. While the shock-effect of transplantation to a strange social environment is most likely reduced for those coming with their own family, the assimilation into American culture may be retarded if the DP's can satisfy their need for association at least partly within the family circle.

The information on *occupations* of DP's in our two states which was ob-

TABLE 8. FAMILY COMPOSITION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI, 1949.

Number Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per Cent	Number of Persons	Per Cent	Children		Adult Family Members
					0-13	14-20	
2	154	28.7	308	17.1	12	13	283
3	171	31.8	513	28.4	129	34	350
4	132	24.6	528	29.3	197	66	265
5	42	7.3	210	11.6	83	43	84
6	27	5.0	162	9.0	70	34	58
7	7	1.3	49	2.7	29	10	10
8	3	.5	24	1.3	14	4	6
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	1	.2	10	.6	6	2	2
Total	537	100.0	1,804	100.0	540	206	1,058

tained from the nominal rolls is summarily presented in Table 10 and compared with the occupational distribution of the white population of the two states. These data have to be treated with a great deal of caution. They do not represent the occupations which the DP's had after their resettlement in this region. Presumably they refer to the usual occupation or the occupation previous to removal from the home country. Some of the DP's may have reported new occupations acquired during their service in Germany, and the younger ones have learned whatever skills they have during their stay in the camps. Most important, however, is that under the DP Act, priority was given to agricultural workers or farmers and to other categories of manual workers.

The DP Act of 1948 stipulated that not less than 30 per cent of all visas should be issued to farmers and farm workers. This provision worked as an incentive to the DP's in camps to misstate their occupation. Also, many DP's had done agricultural work during their involuntary sojourn in Germany or in occupied territory. In this case they were actually qualified for preferred resettlement, although farm work was not their preferred occupation, and they expected to return to their usual occupation at the first opportunity after arrival in the United States.

In view of these circumstances the very large proportion of farmers and farm workers in our group of DP's should probably be somewhat reduced; it is twice as large as the pro-

TABLE 9. D.P. FAMILIES BY SIZE IN LOUISIANA, 1951.
(ONE PERSON FAMILIES NOT INCLUDED.)

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per Cent
Total	815	100.00
2	225	27.60
3	246	30.18
4	188	23.06
5	74	9.07
6	48	5.88
7	16	1.96
8	11	1.34
9	3	.36
10	4	.49

TABLE 10. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED D.P.'s, 1949, COMPARED WITH LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI WHITES IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1940.

Occupational Category	Displaced Persons 1949		La. and Miss. Whites 1940	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	822	100.0	810,767	100.0
Farmers and Farmworkers	484	58.9	266,382	32.9
Nonfarm and Salary Workers	277	33.7	307,246	50.0
Professionals and Proprietors	61	7.4	101,278	17.1

portion of farmers and farm laborers among the entire number of DP's admitted to the United States by August 31, 1950.

Misstatement of occupation had a great deal to do with the high rate of shifting among the DP's during the first year of operation of the program. Employers stated that many of those DP's who had left their first job "assurance" on farms or plantations were not really qualified agricultural workers.

However, among those who had actually misstated their occupation were quite a large number who adjusted themselves very well to plantation life and work. There was the case of a Latvian woman of over 40 who had been an office worker in a factory in Riga. She was living in a sharecropper cottage on a very large plantation, working as a common field hand, and stated emphatically that she did not mind the work, at least as a first step. When asked how she could have qualified as a farmer—she was listed as such in the nominal rolls—she answered gaily; "Yes, I was a farmer in Latvia; I owned a farm near Riga," and showed us photographs of the place.

The DP's thus present the curious spectacle of a group of migrants who do not have the tendency to "up-grade" themselves occupationally. A survey of the occupational distribution of DP's after resettlement would give lower figures for agricultural workers, professional persons, and proprietors and a higher proportion of non-agricultural wage-and-salary workers, because it is the latter cate-

gory into which many DP's shifted during the first months of their stay in the United States.

According to the nominal rolls only a very small number of the women gave an occupation; most of them were classified as housewives. After arrival in the South, a considerable proportion of the latter became gainfully employed; some in agriculture, some in domestic service, others in many other occupations. Thereby the burden of dependents resting on the married men was somewhat reduced. It should be noted, however, that employment opportunities for white women in Louisiana, and probably also in Mississippi are restricted since the field of domestic service is traditionally pre-empted by Negroes and since the major manufacturing industries in the two states do not employ women.³

Immediately after arrival of the first shiploads of DP's at their destinations in the two states, there began a great deal of secondary migration. Statistical information about these movements is not available. We do not know how many left the region to join larger and established groups of Eastern Europeans in the Great Lakes region or in the Atlantic states. "Friends and relatives in the North is a frequent disease among the DP's," said a representative of one of the sponsoring agencies.

However, there is much evidence that a large proportion of those who did not stay at their first job found

³ Compare R. Heberle, *The Labor Force in Louisiana*. Baton Rouge, 1948.

more suitable employment within the region. This shifting was to be expected; it is a very common thing in all long distance migration. Had the DP's come on their own initiative and responsibility, it would probably have gone almost unnoticed. But the employers or "sponsors" as they are called had in many cases incurred considerable expense in preparing jobs and homes for the DP's. Some probably regarded their cooperation with the program as a kind of charity. In a few cases DP's disappeared without notice and left unpaid debts behind. In any case the sponsors were inconvenienced. The DP's, on the other hand, who were disappointed with the quality of housing, with low wages and other working conditions, were inclined to put the blame on the voluntary agencies, on the United States Commission, or on the IRO. Since no field work was done during the first months of the program's operation we cannot judge to what extent the complaints may have been justified.

In the next section we shall discuss the situation as it appeared during the spring and summer of 1950 when DP's, sponsors, and other competent informants in various parts of the region were interviewed.

III. Adjustment

Methodological remarks:

By that time a year or more had passed since the first DP's arrived in the region. The individuals who were interviewed had been in the United States for six months or more; they represented the more stable elements as distinct from those who had mi-

grated to greener pastures at the first opportunity. In this sense, then, they were a selected group.

The interviews were held mainly with persons employed on plantations and farms. No serious language barriers were encountered since in each family there was at least one person who could speak either English or German. Most of the men and all the children had a fair command of these two languages. Certain restrictions on the extent and intensity of the interviews were necessary, partly for reasons of economy and partly out of consideration for the new immigrants; it was felt that no questions about past experiences should be asked which could stir up recollections of sufferings and misery; it was also felt that questions should be avoided which might interfere with the subjective adjustment to the new environment. However, some of the DP's talked freely about their experiences in Germany and many expressed opinions about their present condition and future prospects. In establishing contact it was found best to state in simple terms that the junior author wanted some information for his thesis and that the senior author was going to act as interpreter if necessary. In this way the DP's as well as their employers were implicitly advised that we were not authorized by any official agency to hear complaints or to investigate cases of mistreatment. If possible, interviews were held in the home and in most cases in the absence of the employer. The technique was informal, no schedules were taken, but the sub-

stance of the interview was put in writing immediately afterwards and prepared schedules were used to record objective data. Attention was focused on the present working and living conditions and on participation in the life of the community. Employers were also interviewed and additional information was obtained from various other informants. Some interviews, especially in Mississippi, were held by the junior author alone with the aid of local interpreters.

The interviews covered approximately 265 persons in 70 families, or more than ten per cent of the total number of DP's presumably resettled through September, 1949 in the two states. However, the interviewed families do not constitute a statistically correct sample. For various reasons, but mainly because of the high degree of secondary migration among the DP's and their wide dispersion, it became obvious at the very beginning of the field work that no scientific sampling could be attempted; we could be glad if we obtained a sufficiently large number of interviews. For this reason, no *statistical* analysis of the interviewed cases was attempted. Instead, the findings were presented in a series of locality group descriptions.

Conditions of Life and Work:

In evaluating the success of the resettlement program one should keep in mind the conditions in which the DP's had been living before coming to this country; furthermore, one should regard their condition at the time of the interview not as static but

rather as the first phase in a process of adjustment.

This becomes immediately apparent when a survey is made of the jobs held by DP's in the spring and summer of 1950. While in the beginning the great majority of those who were resettled on plantations had been employed as common field hands, there was now noticeable a definite tendency to employ them in better paid jobs as tractor drivers, repair mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers or in various other skilled and semi-skilled jobs. This shift had two advantages: higher wages and a greater stability of work. The latter point is important: a major problem encountered on plantations is the irregularity of earnings due to changing weather conditions and to the seasonal variations in demand for strictly agricultural labor. The local workers are accustomed to these periods of involuntary idleness, but the new immigrants who want to get ahead financially as quickly as possible complained strongly about the many days during the past year on which they had not earned anything. On smaller plantations this problem is not so serious since there is always some work to be done by the resident labor force, but on large plantations where jobs are more specialized, it is difficult to solve; the managers of one very large cotton plantation stated that this was one reason why they intended to expand their livestock operations since the Latvians and Poles preferred to work with livestock anyway. In another case a planter, observing that the DP's were skillful

carpenters, started a small furniture factory on his place. We are here faced with a phenomenon which has occurred again and again in the history of migration, namely that immigrants possessing particular skills provide a stimulus to the development of new industries or new types of agricultural production. It seems very likely that in the near future the great majority of the DP's will have advanced into jobs more in line with their skills and abilities.

Housing presented another problem. Although most of the DP's had been living in camps under subnormal conditions, they were not willing to accept the simpler kind of plantation workers' quarters as permanent abodes. In their native culture rural housing standards were higher than those of plantation workers in the Deep South. By Spring, 1950, most of the employers had made efforts to improve the DP's' dwellings. Rooms had been wallpapered, windows and porches screened, and leaky roofs repaired. Some planters were replacing the old wooden cabins by concrete block houses, equipped with bathrooms and gas stoves. Usually the DP's did most of the work and were paid for it.

As a rule, the DP families were assigned garden plots large enough to produce vegetables for home consumption. Incidentally, most of the families visited had also planted flowers and shrubs around their houses, an indication of their intention to stay and to make a permanent home.

In many cases the employer, often with the aid of other people in the community, had provided furniture and other household implements; in other cases they had facilitated the purchase of such equipment on credit. In this connection it must be noted that the DP's sometimes refused to buy consumer goods on credit, for fear of becoming financially dependent. Apparently the notion of "peonage" had been conveyed to them, and the intentions of the employer were, in some cases, misinterpreted. Signs of financial progress such as possession of radios, second-hand cars and refrigerators were noted in many households, even in the cotton areas, although the cotton crop of 1949 had been very poor.

Generally speaking, the economic situation of the families visited in the spring and summer of 1950, although far from ideal according to American standards, was at least hopeful. In any case it was a vast improvement compared with their situation in Europe. The level of living of the majority of DP's was also higher than that of most of the native plantation workers. They were paid the prevailing wage rates, but they tended to be in the better paid jobs. They kept chickens, pigs, sometimes a cow and they were adept at developing additional income from the sale of honey and similar sources. About one-half of the families interviewed in Mississippi had one or the other kind of additional income.

The experiment of transplanting Eastern European farmers into the plantation economy, or to speak in

more general terms, into the one-crop areas of the Deep South, could very easily have resulted in complete failure. Fortunately, the new immigrants came into this region at a time of important changes in the agricultural system: the trend towards diversification has been re-enforced during the war and post-war years; cattle grazing and dairy farming are on the increase. At the same time, mechanization is progressing. In this situation, the DP's with their tradition of diversified farming and their mechanical skills fit excellently the changing labor demands. It is quite possible that the availability of this new type of workers will speed up the tempo of change in the region's agriculture.

Furthermore, there are the general effects of industrialization and urbanization in combination with a considerable increase in wealth. The Deep South today is very different from what it was fifteen years ago. The DP's are thus coming into a highly dynamic economic situation and it is to be expected that they will not only benefit by it but also contribute on their part to the further increase in prosperity in the region.

We shall now briefly discuss the *social adjustment* of the new immigrants in non-economic respects.

It should be understood that except for a very few extremely large plantations where more than 20 families were located, the DP's were not resettled in large clusters. Two, three or five families on one plantation was rather the rule. Thus, there arose the problem of neighborhood relations

and of participation in the life of the larger community.

In the Catholic area of French Louisiana, the employers, under instructions from the priests who represented the sponsoring voluntary agency, made every effort to aid the DP's in becoming socially integrated into the local community. They took the DP's to church, to the movies, to the community dances and similar affairs. The children were enrolled in the local schools, and in some cases, special instruction in English had been provided for them. By the summer of 1950 this seemed scarcely necessary any longer. In one French community, the first marriage between a young Pole and a local girl had taken place.

The situation in Mississippi was different insofar as the Latvians are Lutherans and had, therefore, to establish their own church organization.

There are in Mississippi a few areas in which large numbers of DP's are located. For example, within a twenty-mile radius from Senatobia, Mississippi, about 400 Latvians were resettled by Summer, 1950. Here a real community has developed whose institutional center is the Lutheran congregation which was organized in the fall of 1949. With the aid of the United Lutheran Council, a Latvian displaced pastor was appointed and a church building acquired; cooperating in the renovation of the building the Latvians developed a high degree of group solidarity. The church has since become the center of the Latvians' group life. There are in Missis-

issippi at least two smaller groups which have developed into little communities, not in a spatial but in a sociological sense, having their social center in the Lutheran church. In Louisiana such local group integration was less noticeable. Here the Catholic Church constitutes a strong bond between the native people and the newcomers; the latter are more easily integrated into the larger native community.

A few cases were observed of a single DP family placed on a small farm in relative isolation from neighbors; it seems that as a rule these placements were not successful. Too much depends in such cases on personal relations between the DP and his employer, and the lack of fellowship with members of their own nationality is likely to put the DP's into a state of tension which can easily lead to a deterioration of relations with the employer. Some of these employers thought of themselves as benefactors and expected small services from the DP or his wife without remuneration. The DP's who most likely had been exploited a great deal during their sojourn in Germany defined the situation differently, and out of such misunderstandings arose friction and conflict. In some of these cases the sponsoring agency had to intervene and find another place for the DP.

In interpreting cases of this kind one should realize that many planters and white farmers in the region are accustomed to deal with persons belonging to the class of agricultural workers in a quasi-paternalistic way;

they are quite willing to extend favors to "their" workers, but they expect some unpaid-for services in return. The DP's, on the other hand, who had been exposed to much abuse and exploitation, would of course be very much on their guard against any real or imagined unfairness on the employer's side.

The employers on their part generally regarded the DP's as highly competent, reliable workers. They stated that the new immigrants, once they had understood their task, needed much less supervision than native Negro workers; they took better care of machines and implements. In fact, one employer remarked, "They are such darned perfectionists."

In summary one might say that after a period of twelve to fifteen months of operation, the resettlement program had proved more successful than we expected. The anticipated difficulties had arisen but had been solved, to a large extent, by adaptation.

New homes, a new start in life had been provided for several thousand people who but a few months before were stranded in a hopeless situation among an impoverished and often hostile population in Germany. For the first time in many years they were free to move about as they pleased; for the first time they enjoyed the privacy of a family home; they were treated as new members of, and in most cases, as welcome additions to the community.⁴

⁴ For more detail see: Rudolph Heberle and Dudley S. Hall, *New Americans*, published by Displaced Persons Commission, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1951.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF FARM INCOME IN ALABAMA*

I

This study shows the relationship of selected socioeconomic factors to the distribution of gross farm income among farm operators in Alabama arranged by income classes. The questions which led to this research are these: Is low average income per farm person related to uneven distribution of farm income? What factors are associated with the spread of aggregate farm income among farms classified according to income? Since Alabama ranked forty-seventh among all states in average gross farm income reported in 1944 for each person living on farms in 1945, it is desirable to learn if distribution of income is a contributing factor.

The index of income distribution used in this study was the per cent of total value of farm products reported for the one-half of farms with the lowest incomes. This index was calculated for each county by straight-line interpolation of data taken from the 1945 Census of Agriculture. It has obvious limitations. Based upon gross farm income, it ignores the effects of rental payments and other costs of operations upon amount and distribution of *net* income. Government payments for soil conservation practices were not reported as farm income. One large group of farm workers— wage laborers—was excluded from the study for lack of appropriate data. This means that per capita figures herein reported will understate the income of persons in farm operators' families in those areas having high proportions of farm wage workers.

* This research, which was supported by the Grant-In-Aid Program of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, deals with one aspect of the broader problem of low farm family income in Alabama which is now being studied.

Also, it is well known that the census definition of farm operators includes sharecroppers who legally are considered as wage laborers. Despite these and other weaknesses, the index is fairly satisfactory for the purpose of this study.

The next step was to correlate the index of farm income distribution with several factors suspected of being related to it. A selected list of these Pearsonian coefficients of correlation are shown in Table 1.

II

For the State as a whole, the lowest one-half of farms by income received 19.5 per cent of the aggregate farm income in 1945. The indexes ranged from 8.5 in Mobile County to 32.5 in Madison County. They were highest in counties of the Cumberland and Piedmont Plateaus, Tennessee Valley, and Middle Coastal Plains, and lowest in the Black Belt and Tidewater subregions. Counties with, or influenced by, large urban centers had small indexes, due probably to the high incidence of part-time farmers.

The coefficients of correlation in Table 1 are relatively small but statistically significant. That most of them are negative suggests that many factors operate singly or together to hinder a more widespread distribution of farm income.

The average gross farm income reported in 1944 for each person living on farms in 1945 is related positively to the index of income distribution, the correlation coefficient being .38. Furthermore, the percentage increases in this income from 1940 to 1945 vary directly with the index of income distribution.¹ These two coefficients indicate

¹ See Robert T. McMillan, "Factors Associated with Recent Changes of Farm Income in Alabama," *Rural Sociology*, XVI (June, 1951), 147-153.

TABLE 1. COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN INDEX OF GROSS FARM INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS, ALABAMA, 1945.

Socioeconomic Factor	Coefficient of Correlation*
<i>Per cent of:</i>	
1. Farm operators nonwhite	-.56
2. Farms with less than 50 acres	-.46
3. Farm operators 65 years old and over	-.46
4. Farm operators reporting 100 days or more work off farm	-.39
5. Increase in gross farm income per farm person, 1940 to 1945 ..	.35
<i>Average number of:</i>	
6. Dollars of gross farm income per farm person38
7. Acres of cotton and peanuts harvested per 100 farm persons ..	.31
8. Tractors per 100 farms	-.30
9. Cattle and calves per 100 farm persons	-.24

* A correlation coefficient as small as .23 is significant at the 5 per cent level.

that both the amount of, and increase in, farm income during recent years are greater in those counties with a wider distribution of farm income than in those counties with a less favorable distribution.

The highest correlation coefficient obtained in this study, $-.56$, was between the per cent of farm operators classed as nonwhite and the index of farm income distribution. This negative relationship suggests extreme disparities of income distribution in those counties with high proportions of Negro farmers. Other data show that in 11 counties with 76 per cent or more of the farm operators classed as nonwhite, the average index of farm income distribution was five points lower ($C. R. = 3.5$) than that of the remaining counties in the State.

It should be stressed that Negro farm operators are concentrated in counties of the State where the average value of farm land, buildings and machinery per farm person is low. Although these low capital values limit productivity, it is interesting to find a correlation coefficient of only $-.27$ between the average amount of gross farm income per capita and the per cent of all

farm operators classed as nonwhite. The difference in size of the two correlations in which the proportion of Negro farmers was used as one variable suggests that the extreme inequalities of income distribution may be due more to the discriminating effects of the caste system than to the limited resources and productivity of Negro farmers generally.

The index of income distribution correlates negatively with the per cent of farms having less than 50 acres. Small farms are concentrated heavily in plantation areas where large numbers of tenants and sharecroppers operate separate tracts under centralized management and supervision. Also, small farms are relatively numerous in counties with large urban centers.

Not only a heavy preponderance of small farms but also the high frequency of large farms aggravates an uneven distribution of income. Nine counties, each having more than 100 farms with 500 acres and over, as defined by the Census, had indexes of income distribution which were smaller on the average than those of the remaining counties ($C. R. = 3.2$).

Counties with comparatively high proportions of farm operators aged 65 years and over tend to have low indexes of income distribution. In 1945, every county in the Black Belt had percentages of old-age farmers which exceeded the state average, and nine of the 11 counties in this subregion had indexes of income distribution below average.

As might be expected, counties with large proportions of farm operators who work 100 days or more off the farm tend to have great inequalities of income distribution. In any given county, part-time farms account for a disproportionately small percentage of the total farm income.

A small positive correlation was found between number of acres of cotton and peanuts harvested per 100 farm persons and the index of income distribution. As these two crops are grown widely on farms of all sizes and require large amounts of labor, it seems reasonable to expect that, during a period when labor is relatively

scarce, the distribution of gross farm income would be favorable comparatively. Probably this accounts in part for the positive correlation.

It is interesting to observe that mechanization of farms and production of cattle tend to occur in those counties of Alabama where small indexes of farm income distribution obtain. This is not surprising, as increased mechanization and greater emphasis upon production of livestock are characteristic of larger farms.

Factors which show little or no correlation with the distribution of gross farm income include the per capita value of land, buildings, and farm machinery; per cent of farms classed as self-sufficing; per cent of farms tenant-operated; per cent sub-units of multiple-unit operations (usually plantations) are of all farms; per cent change in farm population between 1940 and 1945; size of farm family; and Hagood's farm operator family level of living index.

III

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this research. In Alabama, the organization and functioning of people, resources, and technology in agriculture result in less income per farm person when great disparities exist in the distribution of farm income among the population. Data from this study strongly indicate that those counties with the widest distribution of income among farm operators had the highest income per farm person and the largest relative gains in income between 1940 and 1945.

The bi-racial nature of social organization has operated to accentuate inequalities of farm income among farmers. If farm laborers had been included in calculating

the indexes used in this study, it is probable that the disparities of income distribution would have been even greater since Negroes are concentrated heavily in this class.

The existence of disproportionately great numbers of very small and unusually large farms tends to increase inequalities of farm income distribution. Also, part-time farms, many of which are small in acreage, facilitate an uneven diffusion of farm income.

The inverse relationship between proportions of farmers 65 years old and over and the indexes of farm income distribution may mean that younger farmers are leaving areas where farm income is low and unevenly distributed and that older farmers are remaining in, or gravitating to, these less desirable economic areas.

Two important trends in the agriculture of Alabama and other southern states are the mechanization of farms and the shift in production from cotton to livestock, especially beef cattle. These trends have advanced most in counties where the aggregate farm income is distributed most unevenly among farm operators. Both of these phenomena are associated with large-scale farming operations, which also are increasing.

The current trends toward increases of extremely large and very small farms, part-time farms, mechanization, livestock production, and older farm operators seem to indicate for the future greater rather than smaller disparities in the distribution of farm income in Alabama. That Negroes are moving from farms in larger numbers relatively than whites is one trend underway which may act as a counter influence.

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APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Douglas Ensminger

HOW THE IOWA EXTENSION SERVICE STRUCTURED AN IN-SERVICE TRAINING CONFERENCE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*

By George M. Beal and Ray E. Wakeley†

The traditional role of the Cooperative Extension Service has been to facilitate the diffusion of useful information in agriculture and home economics. One of its major problems is to keep the field staff up-to-date. Most states have in-service training to bring their staffs abreast of current findings. A part of that in-service training for a number of years, Iowa has provided refresher courses which are intensive 4-day to one-week in-service training periods, usually for field and central staffs, in the subject matter of animal and plant industry.

A refresher course in the social sciences was held in January, 1950, which differed from others held previously especially in the way the course was structured. It is this unique structuring of the conference with which this paper is mainly concerned. It will describe the considerations, processes, and techniques involved in setting up the conference and their unique and meaningful implications. It is important to note that the course developed as a result of the increased feeling by farm people of their need to know more about the sociological, psychological, political and economic side of their life. They have been coming to their local professional extension workers for information and counsel, but many of these workers have had almost no training in the social sciences. Many workers now seek a basic background for understanding social problems and related educational materials. They also realize that an understanding of sociology and psychology can aid them in developing techniques that implement their entire educational program.

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† Iowa State College.

The participants in the refresher course were approximately 200 County Extension field staff members, (County Agents, County Home Demonstration Agents, and Youth Assistants) and approximately 50 State Extension Staff Supervisors and Specialists. It was a three-day course, meeting seven and a half hours a day. Basic subject matter presentations were made to the general assembled group in six social science fields. The participants were split into five structured discussion groups in which they considered application of principles to problems chosen independently by each group. At the suggestion of educational psychologists there was a time lag between each general presentation and the discussion of each specific subject matter area, to allow for "incubation" of thought. The final general session was devoted to evaluation.

This paper treats subject matter¹ only as it affects the structuring of the refresher course. Conference structuring involved these considerations; (1) the values, goals, and other distinguishing characteristics of the group concerned, (2) the probable and actual dynamic processes of the group, and (3) the dynamic potential of the various techniques at the disposal of the conference planners. Sociologists were asked to aid with conference planning and structuring so that these three elements might be inte-

¹ A limited number of copies of "Report of Social Science Refresher Course 1950," are available from J. Neil Raudabaugh, Ext. Studies and Training, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. The report contains limited summaries of presentations and discussions of subject matter as well as some materials on methods and evaluation.

grated. It also afforded a fertile field for group experimentation and analysis.²

General criteria are available for planning and describing work conferences, The "Ten Benchmarks of A Good Work Conference,"³ were modified and used as a frame of reference in which the refresher course was planned and will be described.

1. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE IS CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS OF THE PARTICIPANTS,⁴ NOT THE PROBLEMS OF THE LEADERS.

The initial request for the refresher course in social sciences came from the Iowa County Extension Directors Association. The Iowa County Home Economists Association was quickly brought in to help plan the course. Representatives from these two groups and the social science extension committee from the state extension staff made up the social science refresher course steering committee. Field staff representatives presented a list of problem areas that they wanted to include. The state staff committee suggested additional ones. This joint group recommended goals and problems for inclusion in the refresher course. These recommendations discussed, altered and finally agreed upon by the two field staff

associations and the state staff, became the basis for the refresher course.

Four goals were adopted and the conference was structured to attain them as follows.

Goal 1. "To describe the social science field and the contribution that education in the social sciences can make in the extension program." This goal indicated a dual theme consisting of (a) interest in subject matter, and (b) interest in application of principles to bring about social change. The course was keynoted by T. W. Schultz, University of Chicago, on "The Role of Social Science in Extension Education." He described the social sciences and set up a means-ends schema which related them to the total milieu. On the "Means" end of the continuum he placed ultimate means in terms of natural resources and natural personal endowments. Then moving toward the ultimate "ends" at the other end of the continuum, he placed first technology, next politics and economics, then sociology and anthropology, and, lastly, ethics, religion and philosophy led to ultimate ends. This placing of social sciences as means to attain our ends was very helpful to this conference group. This *means-ends* schema was used as an axis for analysis of many problems raised in the discussion groups. It should be emphasized that the steering committee asked the speaker to fulfill a specific role with specific information. The general topic was presented to him, and he prepared an outline which was checked by the committee before the content of the speech was fully determined.

Goal 2. "To teach subject matter in selected areas in social sciences. This will include emphasis on principles which apply and application of these principles to specific problem areas." The committee realized that most participants did not have enough background in any of the Social Sciences for effective group discussion in these subject matter areas. Yet, they wanted the principles of the selected social sciences to apply to their specific problems. This difficulty was met by structuring the conference into two types of meetings.

² The authors of this paper were active participants in the preparation of one of the subject matter areas, Sociology. They also acted as consultants at various stages in the planning and structuring of the course and have conducted seminar evaluations of the course. They were active participants during the conference; one as an Integrator and one as a Process Observer. However, chief responsibility and credit goes to Wallace Ogg, Extension Economist and General Chairman for the refresher course, to Aaron Bowman, County Extension Director and vigorous representative from the field staff and especially to J. Neal Raudabaugh, Director of Extension Studies and Training.

³ When a Schoolman Runs a Conference, *Two Lessons in Group Dynamics*, Educators Washington Dispatch, January, 1948, New London, Conn.

⁴ An attempt was made to cope with general problems of the entire group and still afford opportunity for the participant to solve various interests group and individual problems.

1. General subject matter presentations within the special framework of each selected social science, presented mostly in terms of principles, with application to common problems through examples.

2. Group discussions for which subject matter presentations set a broad basis and framework. Principles had to be applied by the individuals concerned, participants were divided into five discussion groups each of which selected its own problems and attempted to apply social science principles along with their own experiences to solve the problems. Discussion group sessions were aided by structuring² which utilized: discussion leaders, content recorders and listening teams from the group; integrators from the college staff; resource people from the selected subject matter areas; integrators from the college staff; resource people from the selected subject matter areas; and process observers to aid group analysis and promote productivity.

Goal 3. "Demonstrate and teach the field staff how to use social science subject matter in their county." The participants were interested in both subject matter and method. An attempt was made to meet this goal by using a variety of appropriate methods in subject matter presentations and in discussions. The following techniques were used in the presentations of the general subject matter material; interrogator panel with "white blackboard" lettering pen; symposium with opaque projector for charts and maps, and blackboard; lecture with motion picture film and evaluation; lecture with mimeographed outline in hands of participants; lecture with slides and charts, "role playing" with a farm family discussing their farm and home management problems in an economic framework. The structuring techniques were pointed out by process observers in each of their discussion groups. "Buzz sessions" was used in the discussion groups and in the last general session. The entire framework of conference structuring aimed

at meaningful involvement of participators became clear to some for the first time.

Goal 4. "To demonstrate how to develop and carry out a more effective county educational program in the social science fields." This goal was approached in 4 ways; (1) through use of appropriate methods in the presentation of subject matter to the participants, (2) by including subject matter in the conference report that could be used in the county, (3) by using the problem approach as used in the discussion groups for solving specific problems of the people, and (4) through the use of the commitment technique in the last meeting to get groups and individuals to consider what they would take back and use in their educational programs.

The steering committee working with their respective groups delineated five problem areas most important to them at that time,³ educational psychology, sociology, marketing, public policy, and farm and home management. The participants through their steering committee chose the subject matter area, helped develop the general content, and requested certain staff members to make the presentation.

A committee including both resident teaching staff members and extension staff members was appointed by the steering committee for each of the problem areas. Each problem area committee appeared before the steering committee twice. The first time they gave a general picture of the planned content of their general presentation. The second time they presented in more precise terms the content and methods that they were planning to use in the presentation. The steering committee offered criticisms and suggestions, and out of this process came the final content and method of presentation for each problem area. Thus, steering committee members were forced to think in terms of conference objectives,

³ It is interesting to note how changes in world conditions bring about change of demands on extension leaders. At request of the field staff, this year's refresher course contains a section on history and world problems.

² See p. — for details of Discussion Group structuring.

and subject matter specialists were forced to give their presentation at a level that was meaningful for the participants. Each committee was in advance assured that its plan would contribute to the problems and interest of the participants.

2. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE IS ONE TO WHICH DELEGATES COME PREPARED WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE TYPE OF MEETING WHICH THEY ARE GOING TO ATTEND.

The members of the refresher course committee reported back to their respective groups on both content and method at least twice during the planning stage and welcomed questions and suggestions. The feeling developed that this conference was to be different. The participants knew that there were to be general presentations and group discussions and that many different group techniques were going to be used. A program was sent to each participant approximately two weeks before the conference.

Those actually involved in the original structured positions, about one fourth of the group, learned the nature of the course through preconference contacts and training. Most of the participants did not realize the amount of structuring that had taken place until the conference began to unfold, and they found themselves as active interested participants. Some fears were expressed that the elaborate structuring might impress some participants unfavorably so the complete idea was presented at the conference and not in preconference involvement. It is important to note that the conference was guaranteed its attendance because it was sponsored by the Extension Service. It was up to the early stages of the refresher course to transform these attenders into interested participants.

3. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE SELECTS A CORPS OF ASSISTANTS WHICH ACT AS A SERVICE TEAM TO HELP CONFERENCE GROUPS REACH HIGH PRODUCTIVITY.

Participants were assigned to five discussion groups, homogeneous in length of

service, of approximately 45 workers each. Structured roles involved approximately two thirds of the participants in each discussion group. The first four groups of assistants worked with the same group in all six discussion periods. The last two groups changed with each meeting.

1. *Discussion leaders* helped the group to find and select problems for discussion, to see that all points of view were expressed, to help keep discussion on the beam, to help summarize the progress of the group from time to time and help create and maintain an atmosphere conducive to participation and productivity. Two discussion leaders, a man and a woman, were appointed for each group from within the group. This lightened the load on any one person, widened the leadership base, involved both men and women in leadership positions and gave added confidence through a team approach. In some groups they chaired alternate meetings, in others they chose the meetings they would like to lead and in yet others they co-chaired all six discussion meetings of their group.

2. *Content recorders* put on paper the points which group thinking produced, including major issues discussed, pros and cons indicated, decisions reached and suggestions made for action. The recorder also helped orient discussion around the chosen topics and helped sharpen group thinking by pressing for clarification of ideas and conclusions when necessary. Two group members, a man and a woman, were appointed, and they divided the work as they saw fit.

3. *Group process observers* recorded the patterns and categories of participation by the members of the discussion groups and assisted group members to understand how they formed themselves into functioning groups, the patterns of participation which characterized various discussions, and the various roles played by group members. Using these data the observer stimulated the group to analyze its behavior and make changes to improve group productivity. One observer was secured for each group. Three

of the observers were sociologists and two were members of the state staff.

4. *Integrators* assisted the group in recognizing and developing inter-relationships of the principles of education, psychology, sociology and economics as they applied to the problems discussed. The integrators worked in teams consisting of one member from the teaching staff, and one from the state extension staff.

5. *Listening teams* listed the main points developed in the subject matter presentations and formulated questions and problems which the group might discuss. They aided in setting the level and the stage for group discussion and implemented discussion as needed. Each listening team was made up of four members, two men and two women selected from each discussion group. A different team was selected for each discussion period.

6. *Resource persons* supplied expert information and direction in their subject matter areas as desired by the group to clarify points and help maintain productive discussion. Two resource persons, one from the subject matter field under discussion and one from the state extension staff with knowledge of the field, were in each discussion group.

4. THE GOOD WORK CONFERENCE TRAINS A CORPS OF ASSISTANTS, BEFORE THE CONFERENCE BEGINS, TO ACT AS A SERVICE TEAM TO THE DELEGATES.

The discussion leaders, content recorders and listening teams were drawn from either field or state extension staff. These people were sent materials relating to their jobs prior to the conference, and they attended a training session the day before the refresher course. Each was trained separately, after which they worked together as discussion group teams, got to know each other and developed an understanding of their respective roles in their groups. Listening teams were trained for the first general presentation for each of the five discussion groups. These listening teams were instructed how to train successive

teams for subsequent discussion periods. This training was given informally at meal time with the "old" and "new" listening teams meeting together.

Resource persons and integrators were all from the college teaching or state extension staff. They were brought together and trained during the week preceding the refresher course. This was the first time that many of these people had served in these roles, and the experiences of the course indicates a more intensive training job must be done with some of these people. It seemed more difficult for specialists to bring their subject matter to bear on specific problems posed by the discussion groups rather than to make presentations in their subject matter specialty.

Process observers, also from the college teaching and state extension staff, worked together for approximately two weeks prior to the conference setting up their framework of operation and adapting and devising methods. Some integrators and process observers met with their discussion teams during the day prior to the refresher course. Others met informally during the conference to discuss the progress of their groups.

5. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE TAKES TIME BEFORE IT PLUNGES INTO TECHNICAL DISCUSSION TO REVIEW ITS PURPOSES AND ITS MAJOR THEMES: HOW IT WILL OPERATE; AND WHAT MAJOR DECISIONS IT WILL TRY TO MAKE.

Participants were aware of the general themes and the purposes of the refresher course through their close connection with planning and the receipt of a program in advance. The first session was devoted to a re-emphasis of the general goals of the conference as defined by the steering committee. The general structuring of the conference was described and the responsibility of each participant was pointed out. It was emphasized that the refresher course was structured to bring knowledge from selected areas of social sciences to bear upon their

specific problems to be selected. Members were urged to think in terms of getting specific knowledge and understandings that they could apply in their own areas of education. The importance of applying general subject matter to their own problems, as well as delineating and setting priority on problems of widespread importance, of meaningful participation and application of findings was pointed out by all discussion leaders at the first meeting of their groups.

6. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE BREAKS DOWN INTO SMALL GROUPS WHICH ARE CONTINUALLY KEPT INFORMED OF WHAT IS GOING ON WITHIN EACH GROUP.

Participants were divided into five groups of about 45 members each for the discussion sessions. Two major factors were used in dividing the groups; (1) level of work, (state supervisory and specialist staff members were separated from field staff) and (2) length of service within the field staff. Such homogeneous groups had more common problems, and their level of interest and understanding were more nearly the same. Participation was encouraged by equality in level and status. State staff emphasized state wide problems while the field staff considered local community and county problems.

The five discussion groups were kept informed on the happenings in other discussion groups. The content recorded for each discussion group was responsible for summarizing and editing a report on the content of each discussion session. These summaries were made available to a central content recorder chairman, who mimeographed them and a copy was given to each participant. There was a three hour lag between each discussion and the distribution of the summary except for late afternoon reports which were distributed the following morning. In some cases brief reports were made from each discussion group at the opening of the next general session. Lack of time prevented this as a general practice but it

should have been done to stimulate interchange of ideas and facilitate better use of mimeographed summaries.

7. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE USES DEMOCRATIC GROUP DISCUSSION LEADERS WHO ARE CONCERNED LESS WITH GETTING THEIR POINTS OF VIEW ACROSS AND MORE WITH BRINGING OUT INTO THE OPEN THE POINTS OF VIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS.

The first step was made when discussion leaders were chosen from within the discussion group, not from outside. Preconference training and process observer consultation was directed at aiding the discussion leader to fill their roles in terms of: (1) the importance of productivity as a group responsibility (2) the importance of ideas rather than personalities, (3) getting the group to define areas of interest in terms of problems, (4) getting widespread meaningful participation related to objectives, (5) leading the group into thinking, (6) passing questions back into the group, (7) seeing that all sides of the question were considered, (8) helping participants to distinguish facts and sound discussion from prejudice and self-assertion, (9) aiding the group to summarize, reach consensus and move ahead, (10) aiding the group to make the best use of resources within the group, both structured roles and latent talent. Resource people, integrators, listening teams, content recorders and process observers aided discussion leaders in fulfilling these tasks.

Analysis of process observer records indicated that most discussion leaders were versatile in playing the required roles, and as the meeting progressed they played less active part in the meetings and participants began to accept increased responsibility. Process Observer tabulations indicate that the discussion leader's role shifted from information seeker, clarifier and interpreter trying to get people to participate to that of a "gate-keeper" who assisted those wanting to enter the discussion to make an orderly entrance.

8. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE TAKES TIME AS IT GOES ALONG TO LOOK AT ITSELF AND TO IMPROVE ITS OWN PROCEDURES OF WORKING TOGETHER. THE GROUP PROCESS OBSERVER SHOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION IN THIS EVALUATION.

While the structuring of the conference was new to the participants perhaps the most revolutionary structured role was that of the group process observer. Both steering committee and observers were concerned as to just how far the discussion groups would want to go in analyzing their own process and productivity. The general area of operation was defined by "Suggested Outline for Group Observation."⁷ Major areas of analysis were orientation, motivation, unity, atmosphere, and contribution of both the informal participants and those with structured roles. The observers also prepared a simplified list of 10 roles⁸ to be used in categorizing and introducing the functional member role concept. Participants had no serious difficulty in understanding these roles and their relationship to group productivity. A simplified technique for recording and analyzing group interaction in sequence patterns was developed as a tool for group analysis.

The process observer made himself a part of the discussion team from the beginning. He worked with the discussion leaders and explained the role of an observer and defined with each leader his specific role in the discussion group. During the early stages the observers worked only with the discussion leaders, meeting with them following each meeting and giving a brief

analysis on the first level or descriptive feedback. The observer made suggestions when asked, helped leaders define major problems of the discussion sessions and suggested possible alternative solutions. This built up a team relationship and the leaders accepted the analysis as constructive help, not as a criticism of their ability. The decision as to when the observer's analysis was to be taken to the group was made by the discussion leaders. Observers in all groups were reporting directly to the group by the fourth meeting. The job of the group observer was explained with emphasis on the observer as a tool of the group, not a critic of persons. Here again the first level descriptive feedback was used at the first meeting but the groups rapidly took the observer into second and third level feedback. In some cases specific role breakdowns, interaction charts, and productivity analysis were presented and discussed with the group. The observer's report and discussion were 10 to 15 minutes in length, given either at the end of a discussion or at the beginning of the following meeting. This frame of reference and the knowledge presented was rated by participants as having high value to them. This was a contribution made by sociologists beyond their formal subject matter presentations.

Early in the course the discussion leaders of all groups met to discuss progress and problems and evaluate their groups and the discussion leaders role. Early evaluation and discussion aided the leaders materially. Directly following the conference discussion leaders and recorders met to exchange experiences and evaluate themselves and their groups. The other major evaluation was made by the entire group at the last general session. Evaluations forms were used and individual rating was made of general organization and structure, general sessions, discussion sessions, and techniques used. The results were included as a part of the report of the refresher course.

⁷ National Training Laboratory in Group Development, Report of the Second Laboratory Session, 1948, Bulletin No. 3, pp. 123-129.

⁸ Prepared from Benne and Sheets, "Functional Roles of Group Members," *The Journal of Social Issues*, LV (No. 2, 1948).

9. A GOOD WORK CONFERENCE IS ONE IN WHICH IN ITS FINAL SESSION COMMITS ITSELF PUBLICLY TO CARRY OUT BACK HOME THE DECISIONS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE.

An attempt was made to accomplish this goal in the final general session. The entire group was divided into "buzz" groups of five to seven members. Each person was asked to, "Identify changes to be made or action to be taken in their work as a result of what they had learned in this refresher course." These ideas were recorded and a spokesman from each group reported them verbally to the general session. The general chairman listed these on blackboards. Participants included some 40 general areas of changes to be made on action taken. These were defined as the commitments of the general conference, but they were individual commitments and each individual had committed himself to action in relation to his own local problems. It appears that commitments made at this session was one of the best measures of the value the participants felt they received from the course.

Participants in general thought that the refresher course fulfilled its objectives. The "strong points" of the course were pointed out in terms of; (1) a broad and meaningful description of the social sciences, and ways in which specific social science facts and principles might be applied to their problems, (2) the use of structured discussion groups by which a high percentage of participants entered into active meaningful participation^a directed at solving their own problems and (3) the use of a large variety of conference techniques which made material more meaningful and which they could use in their jobs.

Most suggestions for improvement were in terms of being more thorough or going

beyond what had been attempted in the refresher course. Very few suggested there was too much emphasis on structuring and no one suggested going back to the traditional type of refresher course with only formal presentation and demonstration. Three suggestions were made by a number of the participants; (1) that there should be smaller discussion groups, (2) that there should be additional training for discussion leaders and resource persons so they could better fulfill their roles, and (3) discussion periods should directly follow the presentation of subject matter. Scattered mention of suggestions for improvement included; (1) better use of techniques and discussion of how they could be used, (2) less emphasis on economics and more on sociology and educational psychology, and (3) concentration on a narrower field of subject matter with more emphasis on application.

The effectiveness of this course was well expressed by one of the field staff who reported, "Some comments I have heard from some of the field staff indicated that this course made them think . . . and some of our field staff do not like to think."

What is the sociological meaning and significance of this refresher course? We have indicated how large groups can be structured to achieve a maximum of democratic functioning through the use of smaller more homogeneous interest groups. We have indicated specific ways in which the 10 point plan was modified to meet the specific needs of the refresher course. We have indicated how the plan worked. Now we must ask, why did it work? No attempt will be made to answer why in terms of ultimates. Instead we will answer in terms of rural sociology at work and in terms of a summary of the contributions which rural sociologists reasonably can be expected to make to the solution of this and similar problems.

First, the refresher course succeeded because nothing was allowed to come between members of the extension field staff and their felt needs, individually expressed to the planning committee and to their discussion chairman.

^a In the group in which one of the authors was a process observer, 83 per cent of the group members participated in the fourth discussion meeting. Men participated more often but almost as many women participated. By the fourth meeting all group members had participated at least twice in general discussion.

Secondly, social science materials were selected by specialists who were familiar with and sympathetic to the problems presented by the field staff. All materials so selected were approved by the planning committee, including members of the county staff who agreed the materials were applicable to their problems.

Third, materials were related to and integrated with each other in their presentation and application. The means-ends framework served well as an integrating device. Further and more important, it served as a useful framework for the analysis of social problems. This was a crucial point in the success of the refresher course. Many members of the field staff who were looking for recipes, for a bag of tricks, for techniques which they might take home and apply in their counties, went home instead with a workable scheme for the analysis and understanding of any problem which might arise in a framework of social change,—and it is the job of extension workers to facilitate social changes on the farm and in home and community.

The means-ends schema appeared effective whether the ends were specific and immediate, or general and longtime. Social science contributions to methods were presented and understood as means to be used to accomplish ends desired by farm families with the help of the extension staff.

Here is an example of means-end analysis taken from a group discussion on how to help farm boys and girls to achieve better living on the farm through organization.

Fourth, the major emphasis in the small group discussions was on the consideration of problems recognized by the workers. In

structuring the conference to meet such an objective the emphasis at all times was placed on horizontal intercommunication and coordination between discussion groups and individuals. Vertical integration was practically ignored. Questions for discussion were proposed individually by interested participants at the beginning of each discussion. Questions for discussion were selected by each group on the basis of (a) their importance in the counties and (b) the number of participants who recognized the problem as their own. The pooled information of speakers, discussion group members, resource persons, etc., was brought to bear on the problems to facilitate solution. If a group member said "my county is different" he was not laughed out of court. He was asked, how does your county differ? And then, how might you proceed in the light of the differences indicated?

This county-local point of view was carried through consistently to the final session when county field staff members were requested to state before the rest of the group what they intended to do, or to do differently, as a result of the refresher course. This was done by huddlegroup technique because of the large number of participants and the very short time available. Here again the commitment was an individual one. No summary was made and no modification of the state program was attempted or expected.

Fifth, the use of field staff as chairman and co-chairmen to lead the discussion groups had distinct advantages over the use of professional discussion leaders. The complicated structuring of the discussion

SITUATION		INTERMEDIATE ENDS			LONG-TIME ENDS		
Fact	Felt need	Immediate ends	Means considered		Intermediate	(means) Program	Ultimate
			Sociology	Educa. Psych.			
Inactive farm youth in county	To help farm boys and girls	1. Boys 4-H Clubs 2. Girls 4-H Clubs	Steps in successful organization	Best educational methods	"Going" 4-H Club; for boys and girls	1. Baby beef project 2. Room redecor. project 3. Club meetings, etc.	Better farming, better living, etc.

groups worried both planners and leaders in the beginning but they quickly found that it worked. It gave them fuller opportunity to study group functioning and more opportunity to practice the new techniques. Participants took part more freely because their leaders were from their own group and they gained confidence to use the techniques as they saw colleagues succeed in using them. The training value was considerable, but the morale value of using field staff members in the various roles was even greater.

Sixth, the successful use of specialists to present social science information and to act as resource persons posed a problem which was solved only partially. This problem was especially difficult where specialized technical information had to be presented during the refresher course so it could be used by the field staff in their discussions. The elapsed time between the presentation of social science materials and the discussion of problems related to those materials tended to confuse some who wanted to discuss immediately the materials or related problems. It might be preferable to present less information and save time

immediately following the presentation for questions concerning the speakers meaning.

Seventh, there were instances where participants wanted to discuss problems in one subject matter area when they were scheduled to discuss another. Also, some resource specialists were irked if their area did not receive full consideration as scheduled. Subject matter presentations might be followed by workshop sessions in which participants would consider problems of their own choosing, free from any connection with a specific subject matter. Such an emphasis would challenge participants and resource persons to apply the findings of all social sciences disciplines to the solution of the problems posed by the field staff.

Eighth, we want to emphasize the very constructive self criticism developed among the participants by the judicious playback and practical use of the results obtained by the group process observers. Their observations and analyses sharpened the desire of the participants for more observation of groups in process and for more practice in the techniques of group analysis. This was one of the more valuable contributions made by rural sociologists in this instance.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

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† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

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Interdependence in Town and Country Relations in Rural Society. John H. Kolb and LeRoy J. Day. Madison: University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 172, December 1950. 54 pp.

Science progresses as research confirms or refutes previously presented generalizations. Rural sociology will advance only in the same way. It has now existed long enough to make repetition of studies in a number of fields profitable to testing and restating hypotheses.

The present bulletin is a continuation and summary of the study of town-country relationships in Walworth County, Wisconsin, begun in 1911-13 by Dr. Chas. Galpin and repeated in 1929-30. It states descriptive principles about these relationships as they exist today. Its basic hypothesis is that "conceptions of complete or self-sufficient community groups or centers in rural society are outmoded by the present interrelated forms of association."

After stating their conclusions and interpretations, the authors present their research findings in two major divisions; kinds of contacts and types of centers, and

forms of interaction and processes of interrelation.

They classify more than 20,000 contacts of 1,625 country (farm and non-farm) families into four classes: general, social, trade, and miscellaneous. Personally, I do not like classifications that use as major categories such terms as "general" and "miscellaneous" for here one can put anything he doesn't know how to classify on the basis of some characteristic possessed and the classification can become meaningless thereby. Incidentally, groceries and church contacts are included in two classes of contacts. They cannot be in two classes of contacts or they must have been differentiated so that some grocery and church contacts were called general and others trade and social.

The 43 centers in which the contacts were made are grouped into four classes: country, hamlet neighborhood and small village centers; village centers; town and small city centers; and large city centers. Then the research indicates by graphs what proportions of the classes of contacts are made in the centers of different population and what kind of contacts are made in centers of different size. The conclusion is that social contacts are made in small centers and other contacts in the larger centers.

In order to develop profiles for combinations of contacts and compare the earlier with the 1947-48 situation, nine county centers were selected and classed into three types; very similar, similar and residual centers. These types are then compared as to contact areas and the generalization drawn that interdependence of centers in providing contacts for country people is established.

Having related family contacts to centers, the research then analyzes the form of interactions and processes of interrelations. Intensive studies were made of these problems in five of the nine centers. The evidence indicates that families are making many more contacts with towns and village centers than previously but techniques are not being developed whereby the centers and rural people can or do act as a unit.

Industrial, social, educational, and religious contacts take place without effort to orient them to the interdependence of town and country.

The methodological and supplementary notes stress that Galpin's early study did not say that the trade area is the "community." They then conclude that "any fundamental community, or as expressed here—generalized relationship—is composed of changing ("expanding and contracting") feature communities, that is interdependent communities or relationships."

This is important research and every rural sociologist must study it carefully.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University.

Mortality Differentials in Michigan. Paul M. Houser and J. Allan Beegle. East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Bulletin 367, February 1951. 62 pp.

This study of mortality differentials, based upon a Ph.D. dissertation written by the senior author, has the general purpose of describing "systematically the mortality characteristics and conditions of the population of Michigan." In it, special attention is given to (a) The leading causes of death by residence both in the state as a whole and in the counties; (b) Mortality differentials among age, sex, and race groups; (c) Comparisons of mortality in the state with that in the nation, by age, sex, race, residence, and causes of death; (d) Changes in the causes of death in both the state and the nation between 1910 and 1940; and (e) Changes in age and sex-specific death rates of the state and the nation between 1910 and 1940.

Pursuing the analysis to the county level necessarily entailed the basing of rates in many cases upon relatively small numbers of deaths. This fundamental problem, which becomes particularly pronounced in the smaller counties, has caused many investigators to stop short of the statistical consideration of death rates for these local units. Houser and Beegle attempted to give

these rates reliability and consistency by ascertaining the total number of deaths in each county for 10 years (1935-1944) and relating the 10-year averages of these deaths to corresponding enumerated 1940 populations.

Space limitations preclude the listing of the principal findings which, for the most part, either conform to generally established patterns or deviate so slightly as to cause no surprise. Not anticipated, however, was the finding that in Michigan the suicide rate (age-adjusted) is substantially (31 per cent) higher among rural than among urban males. As to the explanation, "the authors offer the hypothesis that the high suicide rate of rural males is derived from the frustration and personal disorganization resulting from the conflicting values of urban and rural life." Another somewhat surprising finding—and this points to a soft spot in the state's mortality situation—is that the death rate from tuberculosis among rural nonwhites is almost three times as high in Michigan as in the nation as a whole, whereas among urban nonwhites the same rate in the state is 46 per cent above that in the nation. Speculating upon the cause for the high urban death rate among the nonwhites in the absence of conclusive evidence, the writers deduce that "... either Negroes with active or arrested tuberculosis, [sic] are selected in migration [from the Southeast] or conditions in Michigan foster the spread of the disease." The ensuing discussion of these factors places somewhat more emphasis on the possible role of selective migration than the reviewer feels is justified.

Among the many meritorious features of this thorough-going analysis are (1) its brief but highly cogent rationale for the study of mortality, (2) its lavish use of well-designed and meaningful graphic representations (including 28 statistical maps of Michigan), and (3) its careful refinement of data according to age, sex, residence, and race before arriving at final conclusions. In connection with this last point, however, it should be noted that in making many comparisons, the authors de-

vote considerable discussion (and space) to crude rates before the age-adjusted rates (which often reverse the statistical picture of the differential) are brought to bear upon the analysis.

This study provides an abundance of useful and detailed information to those persons who wish to know specifically about mortality in Michigan, including those who would undertake action programs to improve health conditions in the state. The study also represents a worthwhile contribution to the growing series of recent well-rounded and methodologically sound mortality analyses of states which include Kemp and Smith's study of Louisiana, Molyneaux's study of Virginia, and Burrus' study of Mississippi.¹ These broadly similar state studies, by filling in blind spots in local areas and affording interstate comparisons, contribute substantially to our understanding of mortality and consequently to our incessant struggle to extend our time on this earth.

HOMER L. HITT.

Louisiana State University.

Two Generations of Rural and Urban Women Appraise Marital Happiness. Paul H. Landis. Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series on the Family, No. 2, March 1951. 20 pp.

Implicit are the hypotheses that rational and scientific ideas are replacing folklore conceptions as to what factors are most important in determining happiness and unhappiness in marriage, and that this replacement is occurring most rapidly among

¹ Louise Kemp and T. Lynn Smith, *Health and Mortality in Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 390, 1945. J. Lambert Molyneaux, *Differential Mortality in Virginia*. Charlottesville: Bureau of Population and Economic Research of the University of Virginia, 1947. John N. Burrus, *Differential Mortality in Mississippi*. Oxford (University): University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration, 1951.

members of the younger generation and among urban residents.

The data consisted of the responses of two generations of rural and urban women, college students and their mothers, to two open-ended questions. The respondents were asked to report, in order of their assumed importance, the five factors judged most likely to cause a happy marriage, and similarly to report the five factors considered most likely to cause an unhappy marriage.

The analysis consists of group comparisons, on a percentage basis, of the two categories of responses as made by mothers, single daughters, and married daughters, each divided into rural and urban subjects.

The hypotheses regarding rural-urban and generation differences were not consistently supported. The response appearing with the greatest frequency had to do with economic factors as determinants of marital happiness or unhappiness. Rural-urban differences in this response were, however, small and probably insignificant. Similar rural-urban likenesses were found among the three categories of women with respect to such factors as "understanding and consideration," "similar social interests," "affection and love," "agreement on religion" and "confidence and faith."

The most striking rural-urban difference was that a much higher proportion of rural than of urban married daughters considered sexual adjustment a major factor in determining marital happiness or unhappiness. Such a finding was not to be expected on the assumption that rural people tend to carry on the current traditions which de-emphasize the sexual factor in marriage.

It may be that rural-urban differences in traditional marriage and family attitudes are being leveled by modern means of cultural diffusion. This study is, however, only suggestive rather than conclusive. For one thing, the sample is definitely biased by limitation to college students and their mothers.

A. R. MANGUS.

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Rural Organization in Val Verde County, Texas. C. R. Draper and Daniel Russell. College Station: Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Miscellaneous Publication 71, March 1951. 27 pp.

This is another in the extensive series of research bulletins resulting from the program of cooperative research sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture and the various state agricultural experiment stations. These studies and publications tend to emphasize the descriptive and practical rather than the theoretical but they have contributed a great deal to our understanding of American rural life in its varied and changing aspects.

The bulletin under review is no exception to the foregoing generalization. It describes the social and economic patterns of life in a semi-arid range-livestock area along the Rio Grande in southwest Texas. Here population is sparse and distances between neighbors and population centers are often very extensive. Sixty per cent of the "farms" contain a thousand acres or more. Nine-tenths of the residents of the county live in the town of Del Rio which is the only urban center in a county containing more than three thousand square miles. What the authors describe as a "casual disregard for distance" characteristic of the region is indicated by the fact that the trade area of Del Rio includes the whole of Val Verde and portions of five or six adjoining counties. Under such circumstances the familiar concept of the rural community with its village center and more or less clearly defined constituent neighborhoods tends to break down. Nevertheless, eight small locality groups are identified and their services and characteristics catalogued.

Sheep ranching dominates the economy of Val Verde County and ranchers and their families compose the social elite. This group is characterized by a high level of living and, in many cases, by a seasonal shift of residence between ranch and town (Del Rio) in order to give the children the advantages of the superior urban schools.

At the other end of the social scale are the more numerous Spanish-Americans. Most of these are identified with the large body of migratory farm workers who "follow the crops" through a half-dozen states extending as far north as Montana, returning to Val Verde County in the autumn. Integration of the Anglo and Spanish segments of the population remains a baffling problem although the authors state (perhaps somewhat optimistically) that progress is being made in this direction.

Institutional structure is discussed under three headings: "The Schools," "The Family" and "The Churches." There is some interesting description of formal and informal groups, including the various administrative agencies operating within the county. The value of the report would have been enhanced by the inclusion of at least a brief description of methodology.

T. G. STANDING.

N. Y. State College for Teachers.

Rural Organizations in Oneida County, New York. Donald G. Hay and Robert A. Polson. Ithaca: Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 871, May 1951. 56 pp.

Most of the readers of this journal are aware that this is one of the studies of rural social organization being conducted cooperatively by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and various land grant colleges. Likewise, many will recognize it as the second such study by the senior author.

Previous studies in the series have stressed two pertinent trends, (1) the urbanization of rural life and (2) the commercialization of agriculture. This one is no exception. It portrays the ecological arrangements, the institutional structure, the organizational patterns—all the superficial framework of a present day rural society conditioned by these trends. It does probe more deeply into the membership characteristics of specific organizations than many of the previously published studies, but in general follows the master mould.

One deviation is the authors' use of the words "rural organizations." These are used to cover the whole gamut of social entities described. This contrasts with the broader sociological implication of the term "organization." Perhaps this is a minor point, but personal experience indicates that just such lack of discrimination in sociological terminology adds materially to the confusion already existing among the lay brethren.

The usual criticism of important omissions readily arises. In the language of the lay world—"This is essentially a 'nice' report. Few of the shortcomings, problems, sore spots and off-color aspects of the county studied are brought to light." A discussion of political behavior, leadership patterns, class structure, current conflicts and "anti-social" organizations and activities is conspicuous by its absence. Despite these shortcomings, this is one of the better reports of the series. Fellow sufferers of "administrative taboos" will appreciate the workmanlike job within the limitations placed upon the authors. It is a valuable contribution in its own right and especially valuable as it contributes to the overall picture of rural life in the nation.

ED LOSEY.

Purdue University.

Community Aspects of Library Planning.

Robert E. Galloway, Paul M. Houser, and Harold Hoffsommer. College Park: Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin A-56, March 1951. 32 pp.

This bulletin has a two-fold purpose: "first, to serve as a basis for planning the expansion of the public library facilities in Prince Georges County (Md.); and second, to set up a pattern of study and research procedure which may be useful to other counties in the State and Nation which have similar problems of social organization." The report fulfills these objectives very satisfactorily.

The study was conducted in close cooperation with the county library staff and the information obtained was used in setting

up a basic plan for library services throughout the county.

"The modern library is characterized by its creative participation in the communication of knowledge and information" is a functional interpretation of the role of the library. The "creative participation" dealt with in this report is concerned with "if the library becomes an organization which really 'belongs' to the community, it must evolve out of the inter-personal and inter-agency relations within the community."

A short method for delineating communities and neighborhoods is critically presented. Factors basic to library planning are then briefly described county-wide including the historical and natural setting, the people, the economy, and governmental units. The contemporary social structure of each of the nine communities in the county is presented. Functions of "library

related institutions and groups" (schools, churches, and special interest groups) are briefly discussed. An outline of the resulting county library plan is presented with emphasis on library services throughout the county including branch library locations, bookmobile routes, etc. Consideration of the relationships of the several community factors with library development will doubtless be of increasing concern both to sociologists and librarians.

To the reviewer, this bulletin is a very significant and highly useful sociological analysis of community structure as related to library services. Because of the urban-rural characteristics of the county studied, the report will be of help in development of more adequate library services in both rural and urban situations.

DONALD G. HAY.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

Man is a Microcosm. By J. A. V. Butler.
New York: The Macmillan Company,
1951. Pp. xiv + 162. \$3.00.

Origin and Development of the Human Race.
By Mabel Crawley Gilbert and Ross Winthrop Gilbert. Boston: The Christopher House, 1951. Pp. 96. \$2.25.

These two books have in common the fact that, although small in size, they deal with certain aspects of the mystery of life. To emphasize the similarities, however, would be unfair to Butler's book and unduly flattering to the book by the Gilberts.

Butler's *Man is a Microcosm* is the result of his attempt to prepare for the general reader as well as for the scientist "a broad survey and interpretation of present knowledge of the nature and basis of life." A biochemist (head of the department of biochemistry in the Chester Beatty Research Hospital in London), the author is naturally most at home in the relatively large part of his treatise devoted to what is known and not known about protein, enzymes, vitamins, viruses, and genes and their role in the living organism. Nevertheless, the author is manifestly one who has long sought an understanding of life in the broad perspectives of time and space. His chapters on life in the universe, muscle and brain, action and free will, and the stature of man reveal the range of his interest. The manner in which they are written displays at once the imagination and humility of a good scientist.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the Gilberts' *Origin and Development of the Human Race* is unworthy of serious consideration. Apparently believing that Darwin was badly off the beam, the authors attempt to develop their own theory of organic evolution. As stated by the authors, "our account of human development from a unicellular substratum . . . is nothing more than a literal interpretation of human embryogenesis . . ." (P. 80) The old principle that "ontogeny

recapitulates phylogeny" is stretched to "extremes and the central thesis of this book is that "individual development is an exact, literal, step-for-step repetition of ancestral development." (P. 13) Additional points in the Gilbertian theory are that the species are not related (each was derived separately), the species are immutable, all species originated in the ocean, and they originated at different times.

Finally, the authors express their personal belief that behind everything is a "central body," "intelligent," or "Deus ex Machina" which "like other physical objects, is weighable and measurable, and occupies a definite position in space to the exclusion of other objects. . . . Its abode is the abyssal depths of the sea." (P. 81) The sales blurb calls this book "a scholarly, enlightening work." This reviewer cannot endorse either appraisal.

CLYDE V. KISER.

Milbank Memorial Fund.

Through Values to Social Interpretation: Essays on Social Contexts, Actions, Types, and Prospects. By Howard Becker. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii + 341. \$4.50.

Six essays, the substance of which has appeared in earlier versions, make up this volume: (1) values as tools, (2) constructive typology, (3) social change as viewed by historian and sociologist, (4) interpretative sociology and constructed typology, (5) sacred and secular societies, (6) supreme values and the sociologist. Chapter bibliographies were prepared by Richard L. Hopkins and Joe D. Mills.

For whose use is this volume particularly suited? Those of us teaching upper division students will have Becker's theses in texts assigned our classes or in our journals. One cannot readily envision building a course around this volume. Graduate students preparing for doctoral examinations would be

likely to turn to the more succinct versions published previously. It is doubtful wisdom to refer one's colleagues in other fields to so prolix a statement of methodological principles. Though the publication of this volume is a questionable service of the profession, yet with the volume in hand what now does one think of Becker's arguments?

Unfortunately it is difficult to focus upon the central thread of exposition, for the writing alternates between incisive statement (as is pointing out the fallacies of an extreme ideographic approach to human behavior) and long flowery passages that are more oratorio than scholarly analysis. To be sure, too sparse a style is soporific in books whose content is not mainly statistical or descriptive, and Becker's writing is not boring. But drastic pruning should have preceded the republication of these essays.

Upon other sections of the book this reviewer would offer criticisms of quite opposite nature; e.g., the three diagrams contrasting sacred and secular societies. In this latest version these constructed types are so elaborated that they no longer serve to distinguish incisively between polar examples that we will continue to use despite the many fallacies of oversimplification. In order to include the number of identifying traits now embraced in Becker's treatment it would perhaps be preferable to adopt more dimensions in the typology.

By excerpting a hundred odd of the most explicit and analytical pages one would have a beautifully written methodological manual the content of which would probably arouse little dispute. Becker's discussion of these six topics can be of continuing value. (1) The nature and importance of constructed types; we cannot avoid the use of typologies and Becker's logical analysis is the best guide available. (2) Types of persons emerging in changing societies; the whole discussion of urbanization and related questions of "social disorganization" takes on more reality with the use of Becker's multiplex classification. (3) The characteristics of a valid comparative method. (4) Procedures for imputing motives in social action; Becker offers a method of linking individual action to constructed societal types. (5) The

contrasting traits of sacred and secular types of societies. (6) The values upon which social science rests. A judicious inclusion of his literary gleanings to illustrate the exposition and of his more pertinent satiric attacks on muddled reasoning would round out the presentation. An excellent seminar assignment would be the task of selecting the paragraphs to be included in such a briefer manual.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON.

University of Kentucky.

Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles. Second Edition. By John F. Cuber. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. Pp xviii + 647. \$4.50.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1947 and definitely set the pattern of organization and content. Revision consists of (a) the addition of three chapters—62 pages; (b) a large number of sentence and paragraph alterations designed to increase clarity or forcefulness of expression; (c) the addition of recent publications to the bibliographies; and, (d) the addition of forty-four illustrations prepared by Graphics Institute. These latter are probably much more effective instruments for attracting attention to and portraying ideas than are plain line and bar graphs.

This revised edition, like the original, was written so that even immature students can understand what its author says. Hence, for readability it is superb. About content, however, there will be a variety of opinions. Part I defines sociology, elaborates the nature of science, and indicates the place that sociology occupies. It consists of four chapters one of which, "Verstehen Aspects of Sociology," is completely new. In it the *verstehen* approach is contrasted with the *empirical*. Parts II and III, entitled, as in the first edition, "Background Understandings from Cultural Anthropology," and "Background Understandings from Social Psychology" contain thirteen of the thirty-three chapters that comprise the book. The reviewer wonders whether these chapters may create a suspicion that sociology lacks

sufficient data to provide a text-book devoted exclusively to its own field. Part IV treats group life, population, urbanism, and social stratification. Part V, is devoted to institutions. Part VI presents social organization and disorganization, and social interaction, but in the reviewer's opinion, does so in a very meagre way.

Teachers who were satisfied with the original edition probably will be still better pleased with this revision. Those who were not satisfied with the original, particularly if their objections were based on content, will not be attracted by this edition for no change in content has occurred.

S. C. RATCLIFFE.

Illinois Wesleyan University.

Credit for the Millions. By Richard Y. Giles. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. xii + 208. \$2.50.

The Poor Man's Prayer. By George Boyle. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. ix + 207. \$2.50.

The poor man's prayer is often for a few extra dollars with which to buy tomorrow's groceries, pay an insistent landlord, get Susie's teeth repaired, meet last month's premium on the family burial policy, or pay the near-delinquent installment on the second-hand refrigerator. There are 10,000 credit unions in the United States to assist little people, with little income, meet these little but pressing financial obligations.

In non-academic style, Giles tells the story of the credit union movement in North America. Six million wage and small-salary workers in business firms, governmental departments, churches, schools and other organizations, and farmers have pooled their savings for loans to credit union members. Usually membership is restricted to a particular group bound together by common employment or some similar tie. In contrast to interest rates of 20 per cent or over charged by pawnbrokers, small-loan and consumer credit companies, the usual rate of credit unions is one per cent per month on the unpaid balance.

That self-help credit unions fail to reach millions of small borrowers is obvious from

the large numbers of loan sharks operating in many states, especially southern states. "At least one suicide a month can be attributed to loan shark pressure" in Alabama (p. 12). Birmingham has more than 150 pawnbrokers and personal loan companies, exclusive of commercial banks. In 1940, Atlanta had 63 licensed salary buyers. (One loan shark in an eastern Alabama city charges whites \$1 and Negroes \$2 per week for each \$10 borrowed.)

One chapter is devoted to rural credit unions. It recounts their successes and failures, with plausible explanations for each.

Boyle's fictionalized biography of Alphonse Desjardins, who organized at Levis, Quebec, the first people's bank on this continent, is inspiring and informative reading. This man with a noble idea, great courage, and tremendous industry started a movement which led to the founding of 1,100 *caisses populaires* in Quebec alone. He assisted in persuading the Massachusetts legislature to enact the first state statute legalizing credit unions.

These two books should be read by rural sociologists, because it should not be forgotten that probably 20 per cent or more of rural families either have no access to credit or can obtain it only at exorbitant rates of interest.

ROBERT T. McMILLAN.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

Studies in Leadership, (Leadership and Democratic Action). Edited by Alvin W. Gouldner. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. Pp. xvi + 736. \$5.00.

This book is a compilation of the writings of 34 Social Scientists, each writing out of his particular field of leadership interest. It starts off with the editor, Alvin W. Gouldner, doing a very excellent job setting the frame of reference for a very useful functional analysis of leadership. The chapters which follow these 53 pages of theoretical analysis fail to knit together a systematic analysis of leadership. Because of the unrelated nature of the material, one finds this book of 736 pages a very difficult and somewhat

tiring ordeal to read with care. Perhaps the reviewer is at fault in looking upon this work as an integrated whole for the title does clearly reveal that it is *studies* in leadership.

Looking at the writing as being a series of studies in leadership, the book is organized into five parts. Part One on types of leadership deals with bureaucratic structure and personality, self-portrait of a Fascist agitator, informal leaders and group structure, informal opinion leaders and national elections.

Part Two—Leadership and its Group Settings—takes up managers and owners, then and now, local Union leaders, the problem of minority leadership, grass root labor leader, the problem of minority leadership, the Jewish leadership of Lakeport, leadership among Negroes in the U. S., leadership in an Italian-American community, what is happening to the feminist movement, who are the Government bureaucrats, leadership and new social movements, leadership and democracy in the collective settlements.

Part Three—Authoritarian and Democratic Leaders—is composed of five chapters which deal with notes on authoritarian and democratic leadership, the consequences of authoritarian and democratic leadership, democratic leadership and mass manipulation, propagandist vs. propagandees, and elements and problems of democratic leadership.

Part Four, made up of eight chapters, deals with the ethics and technics of leadership. There are three chapters in Part Five, which is titled Affirmations and Resolutions.

The footnotes on the chapters reveal that many of the chapters are either a reproduction of previously published works or they were written earlier and not published. This fact seems to explain in large part why this book is not an integrated treatise of leadership.

For those who would find it useful to have within two covers some very sound writings on many leadership topics, this book would be a good addition to their library.

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER.

Washington, D. C.

Rural School Management. By Ernest Hilton. New York: American Book Co., 1949. Pp. x + 278. \$3.00.

This is a fresh approach to rural education. It is a manual of current rural school practice which incorporates most of the changes desired for many years. The liberalism characteristic of the West has not been lost by Professor Hilton's transfer to New York State (Fredonia State Teachers College).

Rural New York is comparable to many regions found in the "South" and the "West," and this gives Hilton a convenient setting in which to test his ideas on rural education. It is also in this same locale that Kate Wofford wrote another good volume on rural school practice.

This book has three parts: "An Over View of the Rural Teacher at Work"; "Living and Working with Children in Rural Schools"; and "The Changing Rural Community and the Future of the Rural Schools." There is an appendix on "A Daily Program for Rural Schools," and "Plans for Rural School Buildings."

Educational philosophy permeates the book. It contends that, like all social institutions, education reflects the nature of the society it serves, but differs from them in also revealing that which is hoped for as well as that which is true of society. Also, education always concerns that which is ahead, never the present alone.

True American culture appears more boldly in the rural than in the metropolitan school. "One of the hallmarks of modern education is the close working relationship with society at large and specifically with the local community," which brings rural education to close grips with the basic problems of American society. This community-centered orientation is the essence of the dreams of village and city planners from Sir Patrick Geddes to Lewis Mumford.

Extensive rural school experience gives the reviewer grounds for strong agreement with Hilton's view-point. Rural classroom teachers likewise have voiced the same feeling. The book is especially valuable in helping urban persons grow into the atmosphere

of the rural school, and is recommended for class use in courses on "school and community."

KENNETH V. LOTTICK.

Willamette University.

Economic Resources and Policies of the South. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xxvii + 464. \$5.50.

Facts predominate in this objective volume. They are so concisely given in terse text and 96 tables that the impression is one of compactness. The economic resources of all kinds in the Southern States are comprehensively catalogued—natural, population, financial, agriculture, manufacturing, labor and wages. Short summaries at the end of these chapters are helpful, and the book has a long though selected bibliography and full Table of Contents and index.

But the invaluable facts are not set forth for their sake alone. They form the basis for the more interesting and forward-looking parts of the book—the analyses of the economic policies at work in the South and of alternative policies.

The study is an outgrowth of the deliberations of the National Planning Association Committee of the South. That Committee realized the desirability of a much broader and more detailed piece of work than the committee could give. This "two-man team," as they call themselves, undertook the huge task.

Past and present policies analyzed include those for the utilization of national resources, control of chief crops, and industrialization. Taking cotton as an example of treatment, there is a clear statement of policies regarding cotton as they have evolved since 1933, including what the authors believe to be inadequacies or defects, and then possible alternative plans are presented and discussed in forthright fashion, pro and con. Alternative plans for cotton are (1) no governmental intervention, (2) no controls or price supports but removal of international trade barriers plus foreign aid, (3) governmental controls and price sup-

port with production limited to domestic consumption, (4) continuation of present program, with controls, price support, and export subsidies, and (5) compensatory payments.

The discussion of the North-and-South wage differential and the effect of Federal wage legislation will be of particular interest to many. International trade policy and its evolution particularly as it relates to the South is the concluding consideration.

Throughout, the authors have made evident effort to be fair and unbiased in their facts, analyses, views, discussions, and deductions. Possible social and economic consequences for all groups and for the country as a whole are not forgotten. Students of economic problems of the South are fortunate to have the results of this study in just this form.

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN.

BAE, USDA

Haven in the Woods: The Story of the Finns in Wisconsin. By John I. Kolehmainen and George W. Hill. Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951. Pp. ix + 177. \$2.50.

This readable little book tells the story of the migration to the New World of more than 200,000 Finns, mostly from rural Finland, during the period from 1890 to 1915, and the struggles and achievements of that portion of them who settled in Wisconsin. The authors cite as the factors contributing to the large migration of those years, the pressure main of population on the sparse-yielding land, the smallness of the farms, tenancy and primogeniture. "Landless cottagers" constituted 43 per cent of the rural population in 1901.

"Thumb-nail" sketches of rural settlements in some ten counties of Wisconsin, mostly in the cutover sections of the state, tell a common story of the mobility of the first settlers from the iron mines and logging camps to the "forties" and "eighties" of reluctant soil, and the development of the pattern of combining summer work on the farm with winter work in the woods. The

single chapter by Dr. Hill—"Forests, Fields and Furrows"—documents the current situation with facts and figures and human interest stories of individual farmers.

The final chapter by the senior author—"The Measure of Their Life"—reveals the almost incredible diversity of the Finns in their religious and political ideologies and activities and closes with a brief account of the development of the cooperative movement among them for which they are justly famed. To this reviewer, this is the most interesting section of the book. Why this group became noted for their cooperatives is an interesting question in social origins. The explanation given by Kolehmainen is that the Socialist ideology with which all the immigrants were familiar, and a large portion of them indoctrinated, provided an "ethic" for the cooperative movement, although organized Socialists "were reluctant to embrace the child wholeheartedly." Socialism then he calls the "father" of the movement. The "mother" was the "need" and sense of group "insecurity" which they felt in their new homeland. They were not familiar with the techniques of cooperative organization and management—these they had to learn the hard way like all other early cooperatives in America. They had to buck the opposition of their fellow countrymen from both the "right and the left." But they followed the Rochdale principles and by holding fast to their espoused goal have achieved extraordinary success. The Finnish story is an important part of the American story, and for one geographic area, it has been told very well in this book.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

The Pennsylvania Dutch. By Fredric Klees. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. ix + 451. \$5.00.

This is a sociological treatise about one of the most important rural groups contributing to the founding of America—the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch. It is written by a professor at Swarthmore who, in addition to being a Pennsylvania Dutchman

himself, attended Bowdoin and Oxford and has spent many years compiling this analysis and narrative about his own people. The work covers the whole life of the people from their history through their farming practices, their mores, and their arts, to their customs and beliefs. As a treatise on rural life *per se* and also because of its unique position as being the best available about an unique rural people the book cannot be recommended too highly for the rural sociological group.

The Pennsylvania Dutch represent various groups of surviving Anabaptists who rose in Europe about the time of the Reformation. They were bitterly persecuted in Europe for their religious convictions and those remaining fled to America. This country was hostile to them in both north and south but finally they found a haven of refuge in the Penn colony fairly close to the Shenendoah Valley entrance and to lands which were settled by another dissident, but less adequate agricultural group, the Scotch-Irish. Much of rural America as it exists today east of the Cornbelt and the Wheatbelt is the product of the merging of these two groups and their customs. As a matter of fact the basic technique of the Cornbelt, particularly its corn-hog culture, took its original ideas from the discoveries of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Phillip Shriver Klein, another Pennsylvania Dutchman, reviewed this work in the *Saturday Review of Literature* under the heading "healthy provincialism." Possibly it should have been entitled "Our Most Healthy Provincialism" considering the fact that Pennsylvania Dutch communities everywhere are outstanding as rural communities. Only the Mormons in the Arid West approach these people in their adaption to a healthy rural life from all points of view.

The author, in addition to what has been said about his subject and his treatment, writes well—at times. When he remains himself, he is at his best. Occasionally he uses a Shakespearean cliché—the sickly sun sets in a pale green sky—and then, in the opinion of the reviewer, he falters for being not himself. On p. 437 he has the plowman

"chucking" to his horses, which may be a misprint. All the Pennsylvania Dutchmen the reviewer ever knew "clucked" to their horses, and got twice as much work from them as the others who *chucked*.

In addition to the rural sociologists, this work may be recommended for its literary value in understanding America and to those sociologists generally who seek to rise above the current fashionable unrealism and to study basic groups as they actually exist.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

Law and Social Action: Selected Essays of Alexander H. Pekelis. Edited by Milton Konvitz. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xi + 272. \$3.50.

This volume is a series of essays, selected for publication by the friends of the author, whose life was ended tragically in 1946 by an airplane crash. The essays touch upon such a variety of fields of inquiry as "public law, jurisprudence, minority group relations, and intercultural education." Some chapters belong to the realm of "sociological jurisprudence," others are semi-popular, almost journalistic, statements, and still others are social action manifestoes. Although the major studies reveal the author's legalistic erudition, they do not go far beyond a mere enumeration of sociologically pertinent implications. In general, the book has no unified conceptual framework, it elaborates no specific theme, and employs no theoretically consistent methodology.

In the chapter on "jurisprudence of welfare"—defined as "fundamentally an educational problem" (p. 14), or a "means of achieving closer cooperation between law and public opinion" (p. 37), or a "mode of inquiry" into legal and social problems (p. 40)—the author does not sufficiently emphasize the problems of social power and social stratification. Needless to say, in modern industrialized societies "welfare" is a matter of diverse definitions depending, *inter alia*, on (a) the myths and realities of horizontally differentiated groups; and (b) the uneven distribution of social power. If there

is something resembling the generally agreed-upon welfare of a society, it may be scientifically comprehended only through a search for common denominators of "welfares" defined by various constituent groups.

In "Techniques and Ideologies," a comparative study of "some typical principles" of common law as institutionalized in the United States and Great Britain, on one hand, and in "Latin countries," on the other, the author brings into focus some fine socio-ideological undercurrents operating in the two sets of the countries. His sketchy analysis of American and English "individualism" as an organic part of "community" pluralism opens an interesting field of sociological research.

Most of the other essays are distinguished more by forceful straightforwardness and good common sense than by any substantial additions to the existing knowledge on such varied problems as racial segregation, the functions of the Supreme Court, and the relations of the state to law, and of "private governments" to public interest. The longest essay, containing a great number of mature and pertinent observations, is devoted to a "program for Jewish action."

A. VUCINICH.

Jan Jose State College.

The Search for a Way of Life. By E. E. Kresge. New York: Exposition Press, 1950. Pp. 434. \$4.00.

This book is written by a philosopher and is an attempt to give a brief review of the attempts that men have made in the past to "Search for a Way of Life." The author discusses some of the most influential ethical thinkers from Plato and Aristotle to the present time and points out, in a clear way, some of the assumptions that underlie their concepts. It would be a very useful book for persons who would like to have, in a rather brief compass, the ways in which mankind has attempted to solve the biggest problems of living from the philosophical point of view.

A study of communist, fascist, and democratic systems of government from the

point of view of both theory and practice is presented. For those who are interested in sociology, this presentation would be extremely helpful.

Dr. Kresge presents the thought that ethical principles point in the direction of a global movement as the only hope for a lasting peace.

The opinions presented are on the basis of topical rather than chronological order which emphasizes the similarities and differences between the ethical beliefs of classical and contemporary schools of thought.

The book is made useful by being well indexed and containing bibliography for supplementary readings.

As the sociologist becomes more interested in the necessity of helping to make his contribution to the discovery of the solution to the problems of mankind, this book will take its place as a very helpful and meaningful one.

RICHARD O. COMFORT.

Park College.

Agricultural Marketing. By Adlowe L. Larson. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Pp. ix + 507. \$5.25.

Most books approach marketing in terms of the marketing functions, or from the viewpoint of the agencies performing them. Mr. Larson's new text not only does this, but it also contains sections which relate to the principal commodities handled and to the problems involved in marketing. Marketing of fruits and vegetables, however, is conspicuously absent from the discussion. Two sections devoted to marketing problems, including research, are probably the most valuable in the book.

The reader may be somewhat disappointed in the first few chapters, since Mr. Larson's approach to an understanding of marketing begins at a very elementary level. As the student proceeds further and further into the book, this opinion is rapidly revised. Each succeeding chapter is well based on the preceding chapter, and the final section, which concludes with a chapter on "Agricultural Marketing Policy," is excellent.

As in many texts which appear immediately before a census, most of the statistics utilized are from 10 to 12 years old. A subsequent edition will probably correct this weakness. Some readers may also object to the frequent and rather wordy quotations which the author has extracted from a wide variety of sources; since they interrupt the smooth flow of our thought processes. Perhaps this challenge to the student is commendable.

The table of contents is very detailed, with each chapter divided into its component parts, each with its appropriate page number for easy reference. The index is complete, but one must search in vain for many customary marketing references, such as "elasticity," etc. Mr. Larson has, however, done an excellent job in forcing the student to use some of the analysis techniques which he is supposed to have learned in his elementary economics. For example, the question as to "Who pays for an increase in transportation costs?" is solved by the use of supply and demand curves; the relations between cash and future's prices are pointed up by appropriate time curves. The author is almost unique among writers of texts in that he questions current thinking and procedure. The book is made interesting and instructive by the frequent use of tables, charts, graphs, and photographs.

ROBERT M. CARTER.

University of Vermont.

American Foundations of Religious Freedom. By D. E. Linstrom. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1950. Pp. xii + 107. \$2.00.

This little volume expounds Dr. Lindstrom's thesis that "the growth of religious liberty is largely an American development, and its roots lie deep in the life of rural people, especially those early pioneer peoples in whom there was a deep sense of the value of Christian teachings" (vii). The volume represents the author's addresses as 1950 Rauschenbusch Lecturer at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Lindstrom accepts as fundamental the universality of religion, and believes that many of the roots of most religions "lie deep in the lives and culture of rural people," (p. 8) in part because of the "many unexplainable aspects of the life of growing things with which country people come into contact almost daily." (p. 10). Lindstrom frequently is impatient with "theological or creedal pronouncements," wishing instead the clear and simple teaching of the great Christian principles as taught by Christ.

Discussing "Colonial Seeds of Religious Liberty," Lindstrom concludes "It was under the framework of this New World concept of freedom, of liberty in a moral order, and of right to own and enjoy private property that New World religious thought, life, and organization grew. . . . The freedom guaranteed the individual to have and hold his own religious belief had much to do, also, with the growth of denominationalism in the United States" (p. 33). Numerous other frontier influences upon the structure of American denominationalism are suggested in the succeeding chapter.

The challenge and particular value of Lindstrom's book is contained in the latter half of the volume, especially in his analysis of secularism in rural life. The failure of the churches to give their members guidance in the application of ageless Christian principles to their everyday lives is a major contributing factor to this secularism.

Churchmen will find this volume stimulating; rural sociologists may be interested in the effort to develop practical applications of Christian principles.

CARL F. REUSS.

Wartburg College.

Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group. By Harvey J. Locke. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951. Pp. xx + 407. \$3.50.

This monograph will doubtless take its place on the shelf of research classics in marriage alongside of the work of Burgess, Cottrell, Wallin, Terman, Landis, and others. It is a careful, meticulous—verging, indeed,

in spite of its subject-matter, on the dull—report of a project executed in Indiana based on a representative (the author is careful not to claim random) sample of: 201 divorced persons and their respective mates plus 50 divorced men and 73 divorced women; and 200 happily married men and their wives plus four other individual cases. The 108-item instrument used included prediction items as well as marital adjustment measuring items.

Two unique features are claimed for this study. The first refers to the criteria for selecting marriages, namely (a) divorced couples to represent poor marital adjustment and (b) marriage of those judged by relatives, friends, and acquaintances to be the most happily married known to them, to represent good marital adjustment. The second unique feature is the representative nature of the sample which corresponded to the general population of the county in education, nationality, religion, and income. The divorced and the happily married did not differ in (a) education of parents, (b) age, (c) income, (d) place of birth, (e) rural-urban background, and (f) mobility. The happily married had a larger proportion of professional and semi-professional persons than did the divorced group.

Locke's study differs from that of Burgess and Cottrell, Horst, and others, in some of his basic assumptions with respect to the nature of pertinent predictive materials. He assumes that marital as well as premarital data are important in predicting later marital adjustment, that the success or failure of the marriage at any particular point depends not only on factors present before marriage but also on factors that emerge after the marriage. Locke's assumption seems to me correct.

In spite of Locke's painstaking efforts to make everything clear, there are some points which, to me at least, remain obscure. For example, items were separated to set up on the one hand a marital-prediction test and on the other, a marital adjustment test. In order to avoid ending up with two instruments that measured the same thing, the marital adjustment test was

constituted of items referring to marital satisfaction or agreement and marital dissatisfaction or disagreement, so that finally the test measured "the extent to which the husband and wife agree or disagree, are satisfied with the marriage and with each other, and have achieved common interests" (45). The marital-prediction test, by contrast, was "constructed from other indices which are logically different, such as length of engagement, degree of sociability, degree of adaptability, and the like" (339). Locke makes it quite clear that the replies of subjects need not be "true" in order to serve as predictive indexes. "The important thing is not whether the reported behavior actually occurred, but the meaning of the behavior for the subject. For prediction purposes it is very important to know whether a person thinks of the mate as stingy or simply thrifty, irresponsible or just having hard luck, being too easily influenced by others or merely being considerate of others, and being grouchy or behaving like a little boy when irritated. The integrity of the subjects' responses should be thought of in terms of whether or not they assist in predicting the probable future behavior of the person in a given activity—in the present case adjustment or maladjustment in marriage" (8). All this makes sense. But does not the same logic hold for the adjustment measuring items also? One would suppose so. Yet throughout the book Locke makes such statements as "the degree of marital adjustment is associated with the degree to which responsibility is assumed by the husband and the wife" or "happily married men and women talked things over together much more frequently than did the divorced" (251). Maybe all these adjustment items were reported as they actually occurred, but is it not just as likely that the happily married tended to describe their behavior more favorably than the divorced? Is it possible that both the divorced and the happily married actually talked things over together with equal frequency but that the happily married reported more of this activity than the divorced? If this should be the case, such an item would still be a good

predictive item, but not a good adjustment measuring item.

Locke shows some confusion with respect to the nature of prediction. He tells us that "a marital-adjustment test gives the general level of adjustment of a given marriage, but it does not measure the actual adjustment of the *individual* marriage. . . . A marriage with a given expectancy of adjustment may be more or less adjusted than the test indicates, but the work which has been done on marital-adjustment tests demonstrates that today one can measure the probability that a certain general level of marital adjustment will characterize a given marriage" (45-46). He gives, in this connection, the usual analogy with life-expectancy tables used by insurance companies, but in an erroneous way. "Today life insurance companies, on the basis of such information as the occupation of a person, the length of life of his parents, and his age, determine the length of time he is expected to live, and insure him accordingly" (45). What the life insurance company does is to determine, on the basis of thousands of cases, what the probabilities are that a man with certain characteristics will die in any one year and then "gamble" with him on these odds that he won't. What the marital adjustment studies do is to determine on the basis of as large a number of cases as possible what the probabilities are that a marriage with a certain set of characteristics will succeed (or fail). Unless the probability is 1.00, one can never be sure that any given or individual marriage, even with the correct set of characteristics, will succeed (or fail). It is in this sense that one cannot be fatalistic about unpropitious characteristics, or cocksure about propitious ones. A specific, individual, given marriage may defy the prediction instrument. But this is not the same as saying what Locke says, namely that the adjustment instrument "does not measure the actual adjustment of the *individual* marriage." It does.

Locke could make an additional important contribution if he re-worked his data in such a way that later workers could measure the

biases in the data when the cases they dealt with were not representative of the total population. Since, as Locke points out, it is much easier to work with an educated, accessible set of cases, a great deal of research in marriage will continue to be based on such cases. If Locke could tell us how much distortion in results, if any, this bias introduces into the analysis, it could be dealt with. Among the educated, do courtship and engagement factors operate differently? do parental influences? sexual factors? children? personality traits? companionship patterns? economic factors? If education in and of itself does not affect the way the several factors operate, then researchers can go ahead with some confidence basing their analytic (not descriptive or survey) studies on educated cases. Similarly, if Locke could tell us how his less cooperative cases differed from his more cooperative ones, we would know how to evaluate results based on cooperative volunteers.

In summarizing results of earlier studies, Locke makes a mis-leading statement about the instrument used by me in a 1933 study. It was hardly a "true-false test." Each subject was presented with three copies of a list of 100 traits. On one he was instructed to check, double-, and triple-check the traits he considered important to successful marriage; on a second, he was instructed to do the same for traits he considered detrimental to successful marriage; and on the third, he was to do the same for traits present in his spouse. The theory was that in this manner each person set his own standard and then evaluated his spouse in terms of this idiosyncratic set of criteria. I still consider this a correct approach. It seems to me to call it a "true-false" test gives a wrong impression.

Students of marriage are indebted to Locke not only for his own study but also for his summarization of earlier studies and for his attempts to integrate his own results into the emerging body of empirical data on this important field of study.

JESSIE BERNARD.

The Pennsylvania State College.

Public Relations in the Community. By Louis B. Lundborg. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp. xi + 228. \$3.00.

New reinforcements for community work are coming into the field from the "industrial front." This book reports the community service programs of more than 75 business establishments. Passing reference is made to the local activities of national organizations. Its main thesis is that "business firms will profit by maintaining continuously harmonious relations with the communities in which they operate and by contributing positively to the welfare of those communities."

Mr. Lundborg is Vice President of Stanford University. The book appears as one of "The American Series of Public Relations Books," Rex F. Harlow, Editor. It is published under the sponsorship of The Public Relations Society of America.

Seven brief chapters deal with aspects of the problem as viewed by public relations counsellors. Thirteen chapters cite programs showing "what to do and how to do it." Special attention is given to eight propositions:

1. Get acquainted with the community;
2. keep the community informed;
3. help local causes and organizations;
4. help schools and colleges;
5. help in city beautification and improvement;
6. help in community promotion;
7. help agriculture in the community and locality;
- and 8. help local government.

W. H. STACY.

Iowa State College.

Social Change: With Respect to Culture and Original Nature (new 1950 edition). By William Fielding Ogburn. New York: The Viking Press, 1950. Pp. viii + 393. \$2.50.

This is the eleventh reprinting of a volume first published in 1922. The present book is identical with its predecessors, save for the addition of an appended commentary of 25 pages.

Ogburn wrote at a time when it was necessary to present a closely reasoned ex-

position of why neither biological nor psychological theories were adequate to explain the development of human culture. His book was, in 1922, an important contribution to the fundamentals of social science since it defined a subject-matter—namely, culture, and its dynamics—for the sociology of that day. Not a few sociologists of the present time are in fact culturologists concerned, as is Ogburn, not with the analysis of social relations in any situational setting, but with the statistical manipulation of factors in culture considered as a supra-social category or entity. Ogburn proclaims these factors to be four in number: invention, diffusion, accumulation, and adjustment; and of these, the central one is invention (p. 377). "Adjustment" which might seem to cover the social person in his relations to others is also quantitative and mechanistic: "The adjustments of one part of a culture to a change in another part . . . do not take place instantaneously but are made after a delay and are called cultural lags." (p. 389). Ogburn feels that his theory of cultural change is one of broad explanatory perspective, analogous to the Darwinian concepts of biological evolution. Details are to be filled in by researchers who come after.

Perhaps the principal interest of the contemporary student of sociology in Ogburn's *Social Change* will be in studying it as an example of the contrast between the older sociology and the new. The reader must consider whether sociology is macrocosmic or microcosmic, institutional or situational; whether the sociologist is more properly the analyst of social relations, or the statistician of human history. Ogburn writes in the tradition of great scholars who could take the whole sweep of cultural events as their province, who could in their wisdom make judgments about national and regional cultural trends. To some extent the weight of their pronouncements was greater in the proportion that their colleagues were lesser men and fewer in number than the newer clinical sociology will require.

MYRON F. LEWIS.

Washington, D. C.

The Social and Biological Challenge of Our Aging Population. Proceedings of the Eastern States Health Education Conference, March 31-April 1, 1949. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xii + 183. \$2.75.

This book manifests the good points and the weaknesses of a symposium of specialist contributors from several different fields. To each specialist, the others are "laymen" in his own field. Hence he summarizes in rather general terms the existing knowledge or beliefs in his area of specialty, without the trappings of technical lingo, but also, at times, without the same caution in stating generalizations and the same careful documentation that he might have considered necessary if he were writing for an audience of peers.

Six of the eleven contributors are medical doctors, two are demographers, two sociologists, and one a labor leader. The result is a readable, general, though not comprehensive treatment of our aging population. The book will be useful for supplementary reading in a variety of college courses that touch on some aspects of the aged in our population or the process of aging. It will also be useful for nontechnical study groups.

In the sections on demography, some statements on present and future age composition are already in need of revision, due to the higher than expected level of fertility and the lower than expected level of mortality in recent years. The demographers are on somewhat safer ground when they use projections of the number of older people than of the proportion of older people, since the latter is affected by the future course in the birth rate. It is possible to choose from among various measures an index of the aging of the population. The choice made by one of the symposium contributors of the ratio of the population 60 years of age and over to children under 15 years of age may be satisfactory for certain purposes. However, when generalizations about factors affecting "aging" are derived from data on past records and projections of this ratio, they may be confusing to the layman who does not tie his thinking of "aging" of the

population to changes in this particular ratio.

Rural sociologists will be disappointed in the slight attention given to problems of the aged in the agricultural population. The two references to the retirement process for farmers (pp. 131, 156) cite briefly an ideal-type situation from which one gathers that the problems of old-age and retirement are of minimum importance for farmers—at least for owner-operators. Problems of income maintenance and of extension old-age and survivors insurance are given only sketchy treatment in the book.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD.

BAE, USDA.

The Japanese Village in Transition, Report No. 136. By Arthur F. Raper, Tamie Tsuchiyama, Herbert Passin, and David L. Sills. Tokyo: G.H.Q. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section (AGAO-X, Dep't of the Army, Washington 25, D. C., Distributors), 1950. Pp. 275. (planograph) Apply.

The Japanese Village in Transition presents the complete findings of the project summarized by Arthur F. Raper in *Rural Sociology*, March, 1951. This publication merits the attention of sociologists engaged in comparative research or specializing in Far Eastern Studies. Because of it, our knowledge of Japanese rural life, heretofore based principally on Embree's *Suye Mura*, has definitely been enhanced.

Thirteen villages studied in May and June, 1947, at the inception of the land reform program were (with one substitution) restudied in November and December of 1948. The report's principal objective was an examination of the socio-cultural changes occurring between these two periods. Data were obtained from village records, from interviews and questionnaires, and from observations of the field staff.

Such criteria as population characteristics, types of farming, and degree of urban influence were used in selecting the widest possible range of village types in Japan. But the term "village," used by the authors

in a geographical and administrative sense, is somewhat deceptive. All the villages possess a degree of rurality; however, two of them have relatively large urban concentrations. Detailed descriptive material on each village, much of which is summarized effectively through the medium of graphs, tables, and photographs, brings out some of the diversity in Japanese life.

Rural sociologists will be interested in the observed effects of the land reform program on the institutional complex of these villages. However, such social forces as the war, the occupation, economic conditions, and the revised civil code are also recognized as having changed certain aspects of the social structure. The discussion of the rise of new behavior patterns is a significant contribution of this research, for even today too many generalizations about current Japanese life fail to consider the social change which is undermining the old folk order.

That this was a group project is reflected in a certain lack of integration. Also, sociological analysis of the data has been kept at a minimum, undoubtedly because of the study's pragmatic purpose. Even so, no one interested in understanding contemporary Japan can afford to overlook the wealth of information this report contains.

GIDEON SJOBERG.

University of Texas.

We Always Lie To Strangers: Tall Tales from the Ozarks. By Vance Randolph. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. ix + 309. \$4.00.

Randolph is a man who loves the lore of the common folk, the "rednecks," the "peck-erwoods," the "sandlappers," and the "hill-billies." In his Eureka Springs environment, he can live among the yarns, superstitions, and the sufferings of the "images of God" who often in their own illiterate ways give expression to human emotions not found in either Shakespeare or the Bible. The book is a collection of yarns from the preface to the index, and they are sorted into categories: Steep hills and razorbacks, fabulous monsters, rich soil and big vegetables, hunt-

ing yarns, stories about fish, snakes, and other various varmints; then come tales about demigods and supermen, the weather, and a miscellany of anecdotes.

To see if the book was really genuine, I withheld my verdict until coming to yarns about the fabulous hoop snake. That is an indigenous ubiquitous myth without which no book on folklore can be complete. This book has hoop snakes, not just one, dozens of them. There are other stories in the collection which have the ring of counterfeits, i.e., seemingly made up for the author. I have an idea that some of his informers saw him coming and thought he was a stranger. By and large, however, it is an excellent selection.

For a collection of its kind, this book is superbly well documented and has an annotated bibliography. It is definitely the work of a scholar. In most cases the yarns are told at face value. However, the author yields now and then to the temptation to expurgate, emend, extend, and occasionally to moralize and explain just a little, as would any academic scholar. Personally, I prefer good yarns told without any "salad dressing" whatever, just as they come from the yokels in whose hearts and imaginations they originated and spawned.

Obviously, folk yarns are not sociology. Some sociologists have not learned this. Folklore is a rich laboratory for sociological study, and it seems to me that herein lies one of the most luxuriant pathways of the social psychologist to the rural mind, an objective which no sociologist has ever gained entirely. By bringing together this body of folklore, Randolph has done rural sociology a service which (1) it would be reluctant to do for itself, (2) it could not do with schedules and calculators, and (3) it needs badly to have done in order to preserve for posterity a glimpse of the retreats once offered the woods dwellers and hillbillies when otherwise life would have been too exacting upon them. It is my belief that rural America will have lost most of its *esprit de corps* and glamor when there is no longer time to sit on the hitching rail at the country store, or on the foot stones in cemeteries at grave

diggings, and tell tall yarns about men, women, and wild animals abnormally endowed with strength, courage, and ferocity.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

A National Agricultural Policy. By Leonard Hastings Schoff. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Pp. xix + 153. \$2.50.

At a time when ideas on agricultural policy appear to be marked by sectional, program, and commodity differences, it is important that somewhere, someone begin to seek an *agricultural policy* for the Nation. This little book summarizes an attempt of one group to arrive at such a policy "for all the people of the United States, in place of policies which might benefit one or two groups of the population at the expense of the rest of the country."

This ambitious undertaking was an endeavor of the Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life. The book is a summary of Seminar discussion. The author, Mr. Schoff, was a member of the Seminar.

Generally, the ideas on agricultural policy contained in the book are not new. Some are not even untried. We meet such old devices as the school lunch program, the food stamp plan, the ever normal granery, and that old concept which apparently is a part of any proposed agricultural policy—*parity*. Although in this instance, what is proposed is flexible parity—the 60-90 per cent variety. Forward pricing, a product of the "Schultz School," also is mentioned.

In two chapters of the book, great stress is placed upon low income farmers and their place in agricultural policy, and the problems of inheritance or the passing of farms from one generation to the next. In connection with the first problem, the low income group, one of the unique proposals in the book and certainly one of the few original proposals is found. The Seminar proposes a "labor — mobility — assistance loan program" to move people from low income agriculture to more productive employment, in this case, non-agricultural employment. The unique feature of the pro-

posal is that the Farmers Home Administration (formerly Farm Security Administration) expand its program to make loans not only to enlarge operating units in agriculture, but also to move some population out of agriculture. Loans are to be paid back out of employment earnings just as farm loans have been retired out of farm income. In connection with the problems of inheritance, the Seminar has another unique proposal; the setting up of an inheritance procedure called the "farm—family life—trust agreement." Since there are complex legal problems involved which would vary by states, it is doubtful that it could have very wide application under present institutions.

While the book obviously is not a product of original research, it is refreshing to see a non-agricultural group such as the Columbia University Seminar working on the problems of agricultural policy. The author, by the way, is President of Irving Worsted Company, Chester, Pennsylvania. Many points are made that a rural sociologist or agricultural economist usually take for granted. Perhaps this should not be the case where non-agricultural people are involved. Though not adding a great deal to what might appear to be a muddled policy picture, the book is worthy for its appeal to bring together various fields of knowledge to analyze policy proposals which affect, not only the farmer, but the entire population.

JOHN H. SOUTHERN.

BAE, USDA.

Imperialism and Social Classes. By Joseph A. Schumpeter. Translated from the German by Heinz Norden. Edited by Paul M. Sweezy. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Inc., 1951. Pp. xxv + 221. \$3.00.

The two distinct and separate essays included in this volume, "The Sociology of Imperialisms," and "Social Classes in an Ethnically Homogeneous Environment," are said to have been considered by the late Harvard economist as his most important works, other than his four major books. The papers were originally published in the

Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik in 1919 and 1927, respectively. Possibly the best justification for their translation now is that taken together the two articles furnish a convenient introduction to the somewhat infelicitous writing of the author's important treatise, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Little is to be learned from these essays as far as method is concerned:—Definitions are imprecise or lacking. The principal procedure is to string together a number of type historical illustrations, with little concern for the logic of proof. Nonetheless, in these days when psychologists have a pat solution for the cause of war—"tensions in the minds of men"—it is well to be reminded of the importance of "structural elements and organizational forms oriented toward war." It is likewise refreshing to encounter a treatment of class using a broad approach to social change, raising important sociological issues that cannot even be stated from the limited perspective of the current anthropological conception of class. This book should become a standard reference for courses in social theory and social stratification.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN.

University of Chicago.

The Planning Function in Urban Government. Second Edition. By Robert A. Walker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xxi + 410. \$4.75.

Thirteen years ago, while serving as a member of the staff of the National Resources Planning Board, the author was awarded a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship for a year's study of the urban planning function. The first edition of this work appeared in 1941, as a result of this study. It was greeted at that time as "one of the most valuable and stimulating contributions to urban planning in many a year."

Ten years have gone by. The United States and the world have passed through a war and are well into a period of post-war reconstruction. Dr. Walker, now an associate professor of Political Science at Stanford University, has continued to ob-

serve with interest (and some participation) the development of city planning. The present volume is a reissue of the first (now out of print) with the addition of two new chapters, comprising some twenty-nine printed pages, and a new introduction.

The author explains in the introduction to the new edition that, except for the two new chapters, the book has been left substantially as first published. It was based on a field study which could not be repeated. However, the two new chapters have relevance both to the earlier study and to the contemporary scene. The first of these reviews development in city planning during World War II and its aftermath. The final chapter is entitled "The Nature of the Planning Function—a Reappraisal." It purports to present conclusions based on the added experience of ten years. Apparently this has resulted only in a reinforcement of the views originally held. In essence, the author's suggestion is that planning agencies can be effective only when they are advisory to the regular public officials. When they assume independent power and authority and campaign before the people for their ideas, they lose their capacity to accomplish their purposes.

HARVEY WALKER.

The Ohio State University.

Area Research, Theory and Practice. (Social Science Research Council Bul. 63). By Julian H. Steward. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950. Pp. xix + 164. \$1.50 (paper).

Two aspects of this volume will interest rural sociologists: (1) a technique and frame of reference for integrating social science research; (2) cross-cultural comparisons.

The technique: several disciplines focus "in harness" upon a set of research problems or "themes" for a specific area. Efforts become coordinated and integrated during the planning stage, as the field work proceeds, and, from the results, through generalizing on successively higher levels. The product of the process, in addition to describing the socio-cultural system under

analysis, consists of regularities and uniformities suitable for cross-cultural comparison.

Being an anthropologist, the author builds a frame of reference consistent with his role. He knows that anthropologists cannot gain "virtual omniscience," and that beyond the collectivity of the order of the tribe and limited culture area, they "have to advocate that which they cannot do." Other specialists, thus, are required, especially for analysis of more complex socio-cultural systems.

"Themes" of interest comprise the framework for projecting area research. Many basic anthropological constructs and hypotheses provide the "theory" indicated in the title. Numerous ethnographic monographs are reviewed to illustrate "practice." A chapter on "The Puerto Rico Project" demonstrates the process.

The volume represents work in progress, rather than a crystallized orientation for area studies. The contributions of rural sociologists and agricultural economists to the field are inadequately represented; many methodological tools available for application remain unrecognized; the case stated for an unified theoretical system can be made stronger.

Area research has its critics. Another Social Science Research Council report quotes one who contends that "area research cannot be expected to contribute directly to the advance of pure science in any of the disciplines concerned with human behavior." On the contrary, each specialty can best determine its unique contribution through mutual aid in the research arena, where false hypotheses and meaningless abstractions certainly will fall under critical attack from others—in teams.

If attaining harmony between diverse world areas represents a basic problem of our age, the framework here presented provides a feasible working arrangement. With an eye on newspaper headlines, interdisciplinary teams, with rural sociology included, had better get busy.

ABBOTT L. FERRISS.

Vanderbilt University.

News Notes and Announcements

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

RURAL SOCIOLOGY HAS NEW EDITORS AND PUBLISHER

At the recent meeting of the Rural Sociological Society the Journal was transferred to the University of Kentucky from North Carolina State College where it has been published for the past 10 years. Nathan Whetten of the University of Connecticut was named Editor, replacing Howard Beers of Kentucky, who is the President of the Society for 1951-52. Lee Coleman of the University of Kentucky was designated Managing Editor, replacing Selz C. Mayo of North Carolina State College. The Associate Editors serving during the year 1951-52 are O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A & M College; Olaf Larson, Cornell University (on leave in Norway); Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of the Census; and Homer Hitt, Louisiana State University.

Communications concerning editorial policy should be sent to Nathan Whetten, Editor, *Rural Sociology*, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.

Articles submitted for publication and all other communications should be sent to Lee Coleman, Managing Editor, *Rural Sociology*, the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

The new departmental editors are (1) Research Notes, Harold F. Kaufman, Mississippi State College; (2) Applied Sociology Notes, Paul Miller, Michigan State College; (3) Bulletins, Wilson Longmore, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life; (4) Book Reviews, Charles E. Lively, University of Missouri; (5) News Notes and Announcements, Samuel Blizard, Pennsylvania State College.

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Minutes of Business Meeting, September 2, 1951, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. The meeting was called to order at 7:00 p.m. by President Robert A. Polson.

Approximately seventy-five persons were present.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees: Resolutions: Duane Gibson, Chairman, William Dehart, Robert Eshelman; Auditing: Samuel Blizard, Chairman, Douglas Marshall, Alvin Bertrand; Tellers: A. F. Wileden, Chairman, E. L. Kirkpatrick, Randall Hill.

Minutes of September 2 and 3, 1950, meetings as published in the December 1, 1950, issue of *Rural Sociology* were accepted as printed.

The secretary-treasurer, Randall C. Hill, gave a report on memberships and finances of the Society, as of August 28, 1951. Total membership was 463. The bank balance was \$3,463.52. A copy of the report is included as part of the minutes of these meetings. It was moved, seconded and carried to accept the report of the Secretary-treasurer.

It was moved by Harold Kaufman and seconded by Howard Beers that the following proposed amendments to Article IV of the bylaws of the Rural Sociological Society be adopted:

(1) Change "Before November first" to read "two months before the annual meeting."

(2) Change "November fifteenth" to read "six weeks before the annual meeting."

(3) Change "November thirtieth" to read "one month before the annual meeting."

(4) Add a sentence at the end of Article IV to read, "The new officers shall assume office immediately following each annual meeting." Motion carried.

The motion was made, seconded and adopted that Article VII of the Constitution be clarified by dropping the word "President" from the first line. Motion carried.

Managing Editor Selz C. Mayo gave a report on the publication of *Rural Sociology* in which he indicated that although the Journal was solvent, there were a number of problems in publication arising from increasing costs.

Carl Taylor reported concerning the matter of a successor to Bonney Youngblood. He indicated that a cut in the budget would make it impossible to fill the position this year. It was moved by Carl Taylor that the Society send a letter to the Office of Experiment Stations indicating interest in this position and the hope that it can be filled within a short time. Motion carried.

Margaret Hagood reported for the Research Committee and presented the question whether the Rural Sociological Society should conduct a census of research projects, assuming that the American Society will make such a census. After some discussion by several members, it was moved by Ray Wakeley that this decision be left to the discretion of the Research Committee. Motion carried.

Ray Wakeley reported that during the past two days, the Technical Committee for the North Central Regional Population Study met to study and make plans for a regional project. He indicated that such a project had been submitted and was approved for travel funds for next year.

Horace Hamilton reported for the 1950 Census Committee and recommended that the committee be continued until some census materials and monographs become available. Conrad Taeuber added to the report by indicating when some of the population series would probably be available.

Samuel Blizzard presented a report for the Membership Committee and indicated the need for continuation of this activity since the number of members is approximately fifty less than a year ago.

Howard Beers, Editor of *Rural Sociology*, presented the matter of selecting a new publisher for the Journal. He reported regarding an inquiry sent to a number of institutions, a few of which expressed interest in publishing the Journal. There was considerable discussion by various members regarding the shift in policy and the use of the funds of the Society to cover any deficit, incident to the publishing of the Journal. It was moved by Conrad Taeuber and seconded by Howard Beers that the policy of the Society be the publication of approximately the same size Journal and if necessary use

up to \$250 from the funds of the Rural Sociological Society to cover a deficit. Motion carried.

Minutes of Business Meeting, September 3, 1951, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. The meeting was called to order at 7:30 p.m. by President Robert A. Polson. The report of the Tellers showed the following new officers of the Rural Sociological Society: President-Elect, Otis D. Duncan; Vice-President, Olaf Larson; Member of Executive Committee, Harold Hoffsomer; Member of Editorial Board, Conrad Taeuber; Committee on Research, Selz C. Mayo; Committee on Teaching, Harold Kaufman; Committee on Extension, Paul Miller.

Samuel Blizzard, chairman of the Auditing Committee, reported that an examination of the financial records of the treasurer showed them to be in order, and moved that the report be accepted. Motion carried.

Duane Gibson, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented the following resolutions and moved that they be adopted. Motion carried.

Whereas the Rural Sociological Society in its 1951 annual meeting has been cordially received at the University of Wisconsin and has been very adequately provided with facilities for its session; therefore be it resolved that the Society express its appreciation to the University of Wisconsin in general and to the local committee on arrangements in particular for its fine job of playing hosts to the Society's annual meeting.

Whereas Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright has so graciously received and entertained the Rural Sociological Society at Taliesin; therefore be it resolved that the Society hereby extends its sincere thanks and appreciation.

Whereas the Office of Experiment Stations has attempted to add a rural sociologist to its staff, but has been unable to do so; therefore be it resolved that the Society express its appreciation for the earnest efforts made to date and the Society extends its hope that this position may be filled in the near future.

After some discussion regarding the purchasing of extra copies of *Rural Sociology* from North Carolina State College, it was

agreed by common consent that the Executive Committee of the Society be empowered to purchase these copies.

It was moved by Lowry Nelson that the Society adopt the following resolution. Motion carried.

Whereas the amendment of 1950 to the Social Security Act doesn't permit the coverage of employers of state and local employees who now are covered by a retirement plan;

Be it therefore resolved that the Rural Sociological Society go on record as favoring the amendment of the Social Security Act to extend its benefits to state and local employees now held to be excluded.

Be it further resolved that this resolution be printed in the *Journal* and a copy sent to the President of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities.

David Lindstrom presented a report concerning the work of the Joint Rural Education Committee. It was moved by J. F. Thaden and seconded that the committee be continued another year. Motion carried.

Report of Joint Rural Education Committee. One meeting was held of the committee at Madison, Wisconsin, September 3, 1951. Considerable progress has been made on a manual pertaining to the formation of community school districts. It is hoped that the

manual will be completed during the year.

Some progress has been made on the preparation of a collection of case studies of successful community schools and school districts.

The committee repeated its recommendation of the preceding year that a series of short articles be prepared by its members on school district reorganization and be considered for publication in *Rural Sociology*. No action on this was necessary by the Society. Articles submitted will be approved for publication, same as other articles, by the editorial board.

The committee recommended that the Department of Education of the National Education Association attempt to arrange a national conference on school district reorganization in cooperation with chief state school officers and state officers of farm organizations, and possibly other organizations. No action on this was necessary by the Society.

The committee reported a majority of the Joint Committee approved working out a method to approach the Ford Foundation to finance a 15-year project on study and experimentation on rural oriented educational programs. The matter is to be discussed further with the Rural Department of the NEA.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

August 28, 1951

Balance brought forward from December 31, 1950	\$2,202.37
Receipts:	
From dues and contributions	1,359.50
Total balance and receipts	\$3,561.87
Expenditures:	
Western Union Telegram to R. A. Polson	\$ 1.31
Manhattan Post Office—1000 stamped envelopes	35.72
R. A. Polson—letterheads and envelopes	51.82
Murray A. Straus—refund	1.00
Marguerite Atterburg—refund	3.50
Total expenditures	\$93.35
Balance August 28, 1951	\$3,468.52

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, September 4, 1951

It was moved by Howard Beers and seconded that the resignation of Randall Hill be accepted and that Samuel Blizzard be appointed as Secretary-treasurer of the Rural Sociological Society. Motion carried.

After some discussion concerning the time and place of the next meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, it was moved by Howard Beers and seconded by Homer Hitt that the Society meet at Pennsylvania State College, August 30, 31, and September 1, 1952. Motion carried.

It was moved by Horace Hamilton and seconded by Otis Duncan that the Executive Committee approve the University of Kentucky as the location for publication of *Rural Sociology* and that details be worked out later by the Board of Editors. Motion carried.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the resignation of Howard Beers as editor of the Journal be accepted and that Homer Hitt be named to serve on the Board of Editors for one year.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of Alabama. Solon T. Kimball, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, is directing the research in social processes of community action as citizens apply themselves to gathering facts about and acting on problems of health. This research, instituted as a result of a grant from Health Information Foundation, is to last one year. Portions of the findings will be made available to community leaders. Assisting with the research are A. T. Hansen, Thomas R. Ford, Andrew G. Bumpas, Ida Harper, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Margaret Quale, Department of Psychology, and Phyllis Andrews, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University.

The research is currently under way in Talladega, Alabama, as a cooperative arrangement with a citizens' group composed of representatives drawn from all major civic and professional associations.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Robert T. McMillan, Professor of Sociology, has been appointed agricultural adviser to the Philippines. He will direct a rural self-development project in connection with the ECA program of reconstruction in the Islands.

University of Chicago. Nelson N. Foote, former Assistant Professor of Sociology at Cornell University, has been appointed Assistant Professor in Sociology and Coordinator of the new Center for Research and Training in Family Life. Assisting Professor Foote is a University Advisory Committee, headed by Ernest W. Burgess, which represents the different fields of research in the family.

This Center, the first to combine research and advanced training of specialists for service in program of family-life education, has been established with \$80,000 provided by the Grant Foundation of New York City. The grant is to be expended over a five-year period. The Center is open to students qualified to work for an advanced degree in the fields of family life education, parent-child relations, family and marriage counseling, family research and teaching college and high school courses on preparation for marriage and family living.

Davidson College. George Douglas has resigned as Professor of Sociology to accept an appointment as Director of Family Life Education in the public school system of Charlotte, North Carolina.

Duke University. A. J. Walton has recently conducted a Study Seminar on community research and analysis. One study unit in this Seminar developed the basic construct for discovering the ritual practices of the rural churches for the next Methodist General Conference.

The J. M. Ormond Fund of \$50,000 has been secured; the interest from this fund is to be used to do rural church and community research, train ministers to do such research, and publish research reports.

Elizabethtown College. Brother Augustine, LaSalle College, Eric Josephson, Dick-

inson College, and Robert F. Eshleman, Elizabethtown College, each presented a paper on "*The Community as a Laboratory in the Teaching of Sociology*" at the spring luncheon meeting of the Central Pennsylvania Sociological Society, held at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa., April 28. The fall luncheon meeting was held at Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Oct. 13, when Jessie Barnard and Seth Russell of the Pennsylvania State College spoke on industrial sociology.

Harvard University. Carl Zimmerman's *American Regional Sociology* will be published by Harper and Brothers early in 1952.

Hiram College. "What Makes Your Community Tick—If It Does?" was the topic of the annual meeting of the Northeastern Ohio Community Institute, an organization fostered and directed by leaders in seven counties of northeast Ohio. The conference was held October 12th and 13th. The program included two well-known exponents of small community living, Edward C. Lindeman and Arthur E. Morgan.

Kent State University. P. M. Houser, on leave since January with U. S. Department of Agriculture Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, has returned to the Department. He was conducting research on rural manpower. Two recent publications by Professor Houser are "Mortality Differentials in Michigan" with J. Allan Beegle of Michigan State College and "Community Aspects of Library Planning" with Robert E. Gallo-way and Harold Hoffsommer of the University of Maryland.

Paul Oren, Assistant Professor in the Department, received his Ph.D. at Yale University in June. Meade Letts and Janet Hoover, former graduate students of the Department with M.A. degrees from Kent, have been added to teach courses in extension. Extension courses in sociology which have been given this fall at Medina and Elyria are to be expanded to other cities in the winter and spring.

Cecil C. North, Professor of Sociology at the Ohio State University, was visiting pro-

fessor during the winter and spring quarters of 1950-51. James H. S. Bossard, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, was the keynote speaker at the Institute on Family Relations held on October 27.

University of Massachusetts. Mrs. Mary E. W. Goss resigned to resume her studies at Columbia University. Frederick B. Lindstrom, who received his doctorate at the University of Chicago, has been appointed an instructor and will teach courses in Population Problems and Anthropology.

University of Mississippi. Life Opportunities: An Analysis of Differential Mortality in Mississippi by John N. Burrus is being readied for early release as Sociological Study Series, No. 3, by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi.

University of Missouri. C. E. Lively is the Director of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences which has recently been organized here. Professor Lively retains the chairmanship of the Department of Rural Sociology on a half-time basis. He is the author of the recently published Experiment Station Circular No. 359, "Some Social Aspects of Forest Conservation."

Robert L. McNamara has recently completed a manuscript dealing with the methodology of sampling rural morbidity. Based upon field work covering two areas of 10 counties each, it was found that adult farm population morbidity can be reliably studied by means of relatively small samples. Professor McNamara is chairman of a committee of the Missouri State Health Council to prepare a series of informational releases for the use of county health councils. Also, he has ready for publication a paper on "The Supply of Physicians in Rural Missouri, 1912-1950."

Herbert F. Lionberger has completed the field work on a project designed to define barriers to the acceptance and use of farm and home information and to assess their influence in the diffusion-acceptance process in a north Missouri farming community.

Special attention is being given to barriers emanating from the informal social structure and the status-value system. This study stems from a more limited consideration of sources of information used by low-income farmers in Missouri, the final publication of which appeared under Professor Lionberger's name during June of this year as Research Bulletin 472 under the title, "Sources and Use of Farm and Home Information by Low-Income Farmers in Missouri."

Professor Lionberger is offering a new course on "Rural Youth" during the fall semester. Lawrence Hepple has been attracting considerable attention during the last few years with his course in "Group Organization and Leadership." He now offers it for 5 hours credit with a 2-hour laboratory, weekly.

Michigan State College. Charles P. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has received an extension of his sabbatical leave so that he may direct a survey of adult education. The survey is being made for the Association of Land Grant Colleges and financed by the Fund for Adult Education, Inc., of the Ford Foundation. Primary attention is being given to the three subject matter fields of the Ford Foundation; namely, (1) international understanding for peace (2) economics and (3) democracy. Three to six months are needed to complete the study.

Wilbur Brookover, Social Psychologist, Gregory P. Stone, who is doing research in the satisfactions and use of clothing, represented the Department in the planning and conduct of the second seminar on social aspects of the purchase and use of clothing. This seminar was held August 6-24, 1951.

Paul A. Miller, Extension Specialist in Sociology and Anthropology, was chairman of the program and planning committee of the Fifth Annual Rural Leadership School for rural clergy and lay leaders interested in the rural church which was held July 16-27, 1951.

Olan E. Leonard became a member of the faculty on September 1, 1951, as Professor of Sociology and Anthropology. He is as-

sisting in the cooperative program of Michigan State College and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica.

John H. Useem taught during the summer session in the Foreign Services Institute of the Department of State at Washington, D. C. Raymond Scheele, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, has been granted a leave of absence for one year effective September 1, 1951. He will work in cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences on technical assistance programs in certain Latin American countries.

Industrial Sociology: An Introduction to the Sociology of Work Relations by Delbert C. Miller (University of Washington) and William H. Form has been published by Harper and Brothers. Recent Bulletins of the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station are: Special Bulletin 369, *A Study of Hannahville Indian Community (Menominee County Michigan)* by Kenneth Tiedke; Special Bulletin 367, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan* by Paul M. Houser and J. Allan Beegle; and Special Bulletin 370, *Distribution of Medical Doctors and Osteopathic Physicians in Michigan* by J. F. Thaden.

Paul Honigsheim, Lewis and Clark University, Rudolph Heberle, Louisiana State University, Walter Firey, University of Texas, Norman Humphery, and Ruth Useem taught classes in Sociology and Anthropology during the Summer Session. Appointments as graduate assistants for 1951-52 include Robert Hicks, Archer C. Bush, Pack J. Preiss, and Antonio Arce.

Mississippi State College. Marion T. Loftin, Assistant Professor, has completed all the work for the doctorate at Vanderbilt University and will receive this degree at the first commencement held in 1952. Professor Loftin's thesis is entitled "The Japanese in Brazil: A Study in Immigration and Acculturation." He spent 10 months in 1948-49 doing the field work.

D. W. Rivers, Assistant Professor, has been given a half-time extension appointment. He will provide the major leadership

for the program in extension rural sociology. An important phase of this work is the Church and Community Conference. The third annual Conference was held July 17-19 with five workshops on church and community problems and special lectures. Approximately 300 persons were in attendance.

Sociology and Rural Life is associated with other social science departments of the College in the Social Science Research Center. Harold F. Kaufman is Associate Chairman of the Center. Its functions are (1) to promote research of an interdisciplinary nature and (2) to serve as a clearing house for social science activities. Recent publications prepared by members of the Department include four reports on the health practices and use of medical services in each of four Mississippi counties, two short articles on population changes and an extension bulletin on community development in the state.

University of North Dakota. Peter A. Munch, formerly Associate Professor of Sociology at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, has accepted position as Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Professor Arleigh L. Lincoln, former Acting Head of the Department, will continue in his position as Professor of Social Work and Director of the Division of Social Work, which is organized as a separate Division within the Department. Other members of the staff are J. Walter Cobb, Instructor of Sociology (since 1948), and Robert B. Campbell, Instructor of Sociology (1951).

Purdue University. Harold T. Christensen was visiting professor at the University of Utah, Idaho State College, and Ricks College this past summer. During the same period Walter Hirsch served as visiting professor at Queens College.

Southern Illinois University. William J. Tudor rejoined the teaching staff of the Department of Sociology after six months leave of absence as Fulbright Professor with the Superior School of Agriculture, Athens, Greece. He was promoted to the

grade of full professor effective September 1, 1951.

Herman R. Lantz, formerly of Ohio State University, joined the staff as Assistant Professor of Sociology. He will develop a program in Family Life Education and Marriage Counseling Service to the student body.

Jack Smith McCrary, Instructor in Sociology, has been granted leave of absence for the academic year 1951-1952 and has been awarded a university fellowship for graduate study at Washington University. William H. Harlan presented a paper on "Attitudes of Southern Illinois Coal Miners Toward Work and Retirement" before the Second International Gerontological Congress in St. Louis, September 10-14.

Temple University. The ninth annual reading Institute will be held January 28 to February 1. The theme for this institute is Prevention and Correction of Reading Difficulties. It is to be conducted by the University Reading Clinic staff, other members of the University staff, and distinguished off-campus specialists in reading. Half-day laboratory practices are provided and procedures and techniques are demonstrated. Reading programs in public schools and colleges are presented by delegates and evaluated by a selected staff.

State College of Washington. Walter Slocum became Chairman of the Department of Rural Sociology on August 1, replacing Paul H. Landis, Chairman for the past 15 years. Professor Slocum was formerly Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at South Dakota State College and more recently was Chief of the Research Division of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and Education of the Veterans Administration in Washington, D. C. Professor Landis, who asked to be relieved of administrative duties in the department two years ago, will continue his writing and research as Professor of Rural Sociology and as Rural Sociologist in the Experiment Station.

Mrs. Carol Larson Stone has been advanced from supervisor of the Rural So-

ciology Research Laboratory to Junior Rural Sociologist.

University of Wisconsin. William H. Sewell, Professor of Rural Sociology, has been appointed Chairman of the new Social Science Committee of the University. The functions of the Committee are: (1) be the central agency responsible for recommendations for the allocation of designated funds; (2) request and receive progress reports; (3) develop and administer facilities in aid of social science research; and (4) consult with or seek support of any person or agency on any matter affecting social science research at the University.

Departments, schools, and divisions included in the new set-up will be agricultural journalism, agricultural economics, commerce, economics, geography, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, rural sociology, social work, sociology and anthropology, law, education, journalism, and extension.

The Regents have appropriated \$6,915 in committee operating funds. The Committee is to report to the Dean of the Graduate School and the faculty division of social studies.

PRIVATE RESEARCH AGENCIES

Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches. Shirley E. Green has just published a 24-page pamphlet entitled "Farmers Speak." This contains a comparative study of the policy pronouncements of Farm Bureau, Grange and Farmers Union, based on their most recent national convention resolutions on 26 major domestic and international issues. Position of the Council for Social Action on the same issues is also included.

Moreno Institute. Courses in Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, Psychodrama, Sociodrama and Role Playing under the guidance of Dr. J. L. Moreno, the originator of these methods, have been established. Elementary and advanced courses are offered to students wishing to specialize in these fields. Students fulfilling the course requirements can obtain credit.

Langley Porter Clinic, San Francisco. A. R. Mangus, on leave from the Ohio State University, is serving as Research Sociologist for the Clinic and as Lecturer in the Department of Psychiatry, University of California. He is engaged in planning and carrying out studies of juvenile and adult sex offenses and offenders in relation to problems of mental hygiene and to problems of family life. Dr. Mangus is also serving on the instructional staff of a University of California Medical extension post-graduate course for psychiatrists with a series of lectures on "Sociological Contributions to Psychiatry."

George Korber of Stanford University has joined the research staff as part-time sociological research associate.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. Robert Cuba Jones has been appointed a member of the staff as a specialist in community organization and development. The Library of Congress is publishing a bibliography on Mexicans in the United States containing more than four thousand references compiled by Mr. Jones.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Arthur F. Raper left October 15 on a two months assignment for ECA to Burma, Thailand and adjacent Far Eastern countries. Enroute back in December he visited Lebanon and adjoining countries to look into Arab refugee problems for the American Friends of the Middle East. Mr. Raper and his wife Martha are joint authors of a new publication entitled "Guide to Agriculture, U.S.A." Its 82 pages contain many illustrations, maps, graphs and tables as well as a narrative description of most of the important phases of American agriculture. It is listed as Agr. Information Bulletin No. 30 and may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents.

T. Wilson Longmore is devoting half-time the remainder of the year to the Adult Education survey being carried on for the Ford Foundation by the Department of Anthro-

pology and Sociology, Michigan State College.

Two staff members, Paul J. Jehlik, and Gladys K. Bowles, are on part time duty, the former at Iowa State College and the latter at the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Jehlik is handling some of Ray Wakeley's classes during his visit to Brazil, and Mrs. Bowles is working on the Regional Population project for the Wisconsin Experiment Station.

Louis J. Ducoff attended the ILO meetings in Geneva in July, as Agricultural Adviser to the U. S. delegation.

Field work on the project "Retirement Plans of Farm Families" being carried on cooperatively with the Experiment Stations at Wisconsin and Connecticut has been completed in both states and coding and tabulation is under way.

FULLBRIGHT AWARDS FOR 1952-53

Awards for University lectures, post-doctoral research scholars and specialists

in Europe, the Near East, East Asia, and the Pacific, for 1952-53 are now available. These awards are made in currency of the host country and usually include round-trip transportation for the grantee, a maintenance allowance, and a supplemental allowance for travel and books or equipment purchaseable abroad. Ordinarily these awards are made for the full academic year.

Applications are accepted between March 1 and April 15 of the year preceding that for which application is made for the countries of East Asia and the Pacific. Applications are accepted between May 15 and October 15 for the academic year beginning in the fall of the next year for countries of Europe and the Near East.

Information concerning these awards may be secured from the Executive Secretary, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 6, D. C.

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP, 1951

(To October 20, 1951)

ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L.
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Ferris, Abbott L.

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San Diego County
Davis
Chico
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Berkeley 9
Downey
San Francisco 22
Stockton
Berkeley 4
Albany 6
Los Angeles 43

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Whetten, Nathan L.	Dog Lane	Storrs

DELAWARE

Thomasson, Maurice E.	Delaware State College	Dover
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Hammond
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Baton Rouge
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Baton Rouge
Natchitoches
Baton Rouge 3
New Orleans 13

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University of Maine

Cape Porpoise
Orono

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Ducoff, Louis J.
Hoffsommer, Harold
Houser, Paul and Leah
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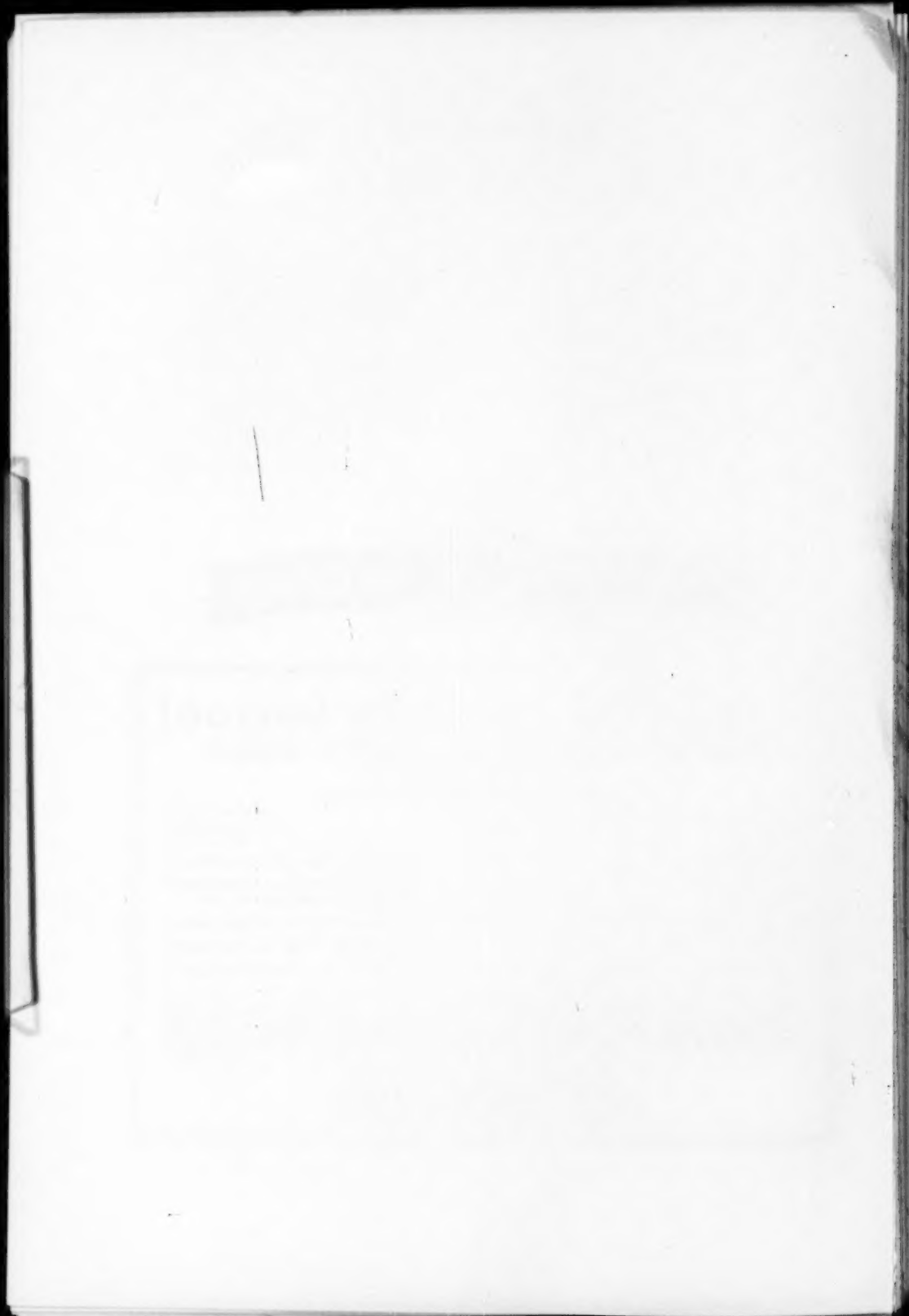
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